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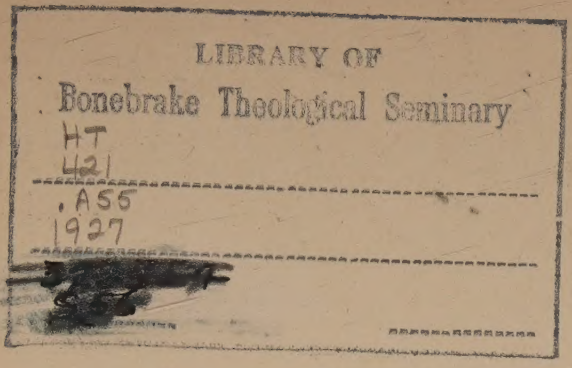
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FARM INCOME AND FARM LIFE

FARM INCOME AND FARM LIFE

A Symposium on the Relation of the Social and Economic Factors in Rural Progress

PREPARED BY A JOINT COMMITTEE

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INTRODUCTION

At their annual meetings in 1924 the American Country Life Association and the American Farm Economics Association voted to authorize their presidents to appoint a joint committee for the preparation of a report on the relation of the social and economic factors in the improvement of rural life. As finally constituted this committee consists of Andrew Boss, University of Minnesota, O. G. Lloyd, Purdue University, and F. D. Farrell, Kansas State Agricultural College for the Farm Economics Association, and M. L. Wilson, Montana Agricultural College, J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, and Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, who was chosen chairman, for the Country Life Association.

The creation of this joint committee was due to the suggestion of President Kenyon L. Butterfield, who for many years has raised the query as to whether rural progress is not as much due to the desire for better things in life as it is the result of the improvement of the farmer's economic status. His thesis is that " greater profits in agriculture depend upon standards or prospective standards of living and comfort." * To what extent is a higher standard of life the result of a better income? May the desire for the former stimulate greater exertion and efficiency and result in a better income as a means to the end sought? The need for a consideration of this problem arises from the frequent assertion of many farmers and the attitude of some agricultural economists that if the farmer's income could be increased he would automatically adopt a higher standard of life; while, on the other hand, not infrequently rural sociologists, educators, clergymen and others interested in the improvement of the quality of

* K. L. Butterfield, The Farmer and the New Day, New York, 1919, p. 65.

human life on farms, advocate and undertake programs of improvement beyond the possibility of permanent financial support by the locality unless its economic resources are materially increased.

Obviously there is much to be said on both sides of this question, and the committee was created for the purpose of analyzing the problem and assembling facts and opinions concerning it, not with the idea that it could settle the questions involved, but that it might be able to define the issues and clarify our thinking on this problem which is so fundamental for a sound program of rural improvement.

Approaching its task with these ends in view, the committee first defined its problem as "The Relation of the Social and Economic Factors in Rural Progress." Whether or not this statement of the problem is definitive depends, of course, upon one's conception of the terms involved. Thus if one accepts Dr. Black's definition of economics (see p. 38), the whole question would seem to be one of the relation of different *economic* values in rural progress. The committee has made no attempt to define sharply the terms "economic" and "social", but has used them in the ordinary sense of the man of the street, on account of the lack of any better words to express its meaning. From this standpoint the term "economic" refers to those activities of life which have to do with the production, exchange and consumption of material wealth. The term "social" is even more difficult of definition. In contrast to the word "economic" as here used, the word "non-economic" would be more inclusive. The social factors in rural progress, as we conceive them, are those activities which affect human personality and character, usually by means of some form of association involving such factors as health, education, recreation, religion, artistic appreciation, sociability, etc. They are those goods which are commonly spoken of as included in "social welfare". Thus the two words "economic" and "social" as here used are not strictly antithetic or mutually

exclusive, but they do represent different categories of values and express better than any other the popular usage. In short the committee sought to make a brief, popular statement of the general problem committed to it which would roughly define the area to be studied. The more exact definitions of the terms "economic" and "rural progress" are considered by the collaborators in Chapters I and III.

The committee has been handicapped in its work by lack of any funds for its expenses. Consequently but one meeting has been held at which only half were in attendance. Being obliged to carry on the work by correspondence, and in view of the limited amount of time which it was possible for its members to give to the work, the committee decided that it would be best to make a somewhat detailed analysis of the general problem into sub-topics and to then invite the collaboration of numerous writers who had given special study to, or who were particularly qualified to discuss, individual topics. This was done and the outline for the coöperative study finally furnished to the collaborators is given in the Appendix, p. 319. Thus the final report now presented consists mostly of a symposium from the committee's collaborators. Owing to our inability to secure writers on some topics, and to the failure of others to notify us they could not furnish articles until too late to secure other writers, as well as to differences of interpretation of the topics by some of the authors, and, indeed, to the clarifying of the committee's own analysis as a result of the study of the articles submitted, it has been necessary to disregard the sequence of the original plan, though most of the topics have been kept as originally stated.

The work of the committee has, therefore, been chiefly of an editorial nature. It has sought to furnish a thread of continuity to the various chapters of the discussion by brief introductions and summaries, indicating their relationships to other parts of the report, and to unify the whole by a chapter of conclusions. These have been prepared by various members of

the committee, and in each case bear the initials of the editor. Although much of this editorial work has fallen to the chairman of the committee, yet the whole manuscript has been read by each member of the committee and the introductions and conclusions have been revised to meet the suggestions of its members, so that the report as now presented is truly the joint work of the committee as a whole.

It seems almost unnecessary to add that the committee is in no way responsible for the views of its collaborators. In some cases it has indicated a difference of opinion in its editorial comment, but in most cases it has made no effort to comment on views with which it may differ.

Obviously whatever merit the report may have is due to the generous assistance given by the collaborators, who have given their time and thought without compensation because of their interest in the topics on which they were invited to write. To all of them the committtee extends its most sincere appreciation for their coöperation, without which its task would have been impossible.

The committee is also indebted to the appreciative interest of the directors of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, whose grant has made the publication of this report possible.

In presenting this report the committee is aware that some of the most fundamental questions raised have not been satisfactorily answered because of the lack of scientifically determined facts. On the other hand it is believed that the report gives a new insight into the essential elements of rural progress. It is hoped that the report may form the basis of discussion by both of the associations to which it is submitted and by other groups interested in rural life, and that out of such discussion may come a better understanding of the interplay of the social and economic factors in rural welfare and a closer coöperation between those professionally engaged in these two aspects of rural progress.—D. S.

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FARM INCOME AND FARM LIFE

FARM INCOME AND FARM LIFE

Chapter I

THE MEASURE OF RURAL PROGRESS

In this country there are thousands of people who are working or who think they are working to promote rural progress. The agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the rural schools, the farm organizations, the federal and state departments of agriculture, and several other agencies, public and private, employ these thousands of men and women. In addition to these people there are large numbers of others who engage in individual activities that aim to foster the progress of rural communities.

But there is much lost motion. There are many activities that are based on a superficial understanding of rural needs or on misconceptions as to what constitutes rural progress. We all want rural progress, but are we clear as to what it is? Possibly our objectives may be more readily attained if we can clarify this concept.

The problem of this report is to discuss the interrelation of social and economic influences in rural progress. A working definition of rural progress is obviously a prerequisite for all further discussion. We therefore asked four of our best known agricultural leaders "What is the measure of rural progress?" Their replies form this chapter.

The four authors of the papers in this chapter represent a wide variety of experience in many states of the Union and in several foreign countries. They represent occupational experience ranging from "cow punching", bonanza wheat farming,

fruit growing, and dairying, to agricultural college presidencies and membership in the President's Cabinet.

Although the four authors differ in details and in approach, they are in essential agreement, and they call our attention to the most fundamental considerations involved in the idea of rural progress. Summarizing their most important points we would conclude that rural progress involves:

1. Increasing technical efficiency; that is, an increasing product for the capital and labor employed, both as to quantity and quality and variety of products, with the maintenance of soil fertility and natural resources and an increasingly equitable income for these products through a better economic organization.

2. Increasing human welfare, that is, a better standard of life, health, education, social institutions, character and ideals; involving

(a) More leisure time and the ability to use it profitably, and

(b) Increasing personal satisfaction with which farm people enjoy farm life.

The papers which form the following chapters of the body of the report deal with various aspects of these criteria of rural progress and of their relation to each other. Is the second a product of the first, or vice versa? Are they attainable simultaneously or in succession? To what extent can certain items of these criteria be attained without others? These are some of the questions about which we shall present evidence.—F. D. F.

HOW SHALL WE MEASURE RURAL PROGRESS?

W. M. JARDINE,
Secretary of Agriculture

There is an old principle that has gained widespread acknowledgment, though less universal application, to the effect that the achievement of good rests on giving as well as on getting; indeed,

that the getting is in proportion to the giving. Without question, rural life, like every other type of life, has a two-fold function. It serves society and it serves its own people. Any life that is to be satisfying must possess social usefulness, as well as afford opportunity for self-expression. Happier still the situation when self-expression is made contributory to social usefulness. Even in economic theory we have the Productivity School setting up the principle that at the margin at least reward tends to be equivalent to contribution. However, he would be an optimist indeed who would make bold to assert that in the present imperfect degree of economic organization economic rewards are a precise measure of economic contributions, and there is especially reason for believing that this may not be true of agriculture in recent years. Nevertheless in setting up criteria of rural progress we shall find it desirable to keep in mind the contribution of rural society to the social whole as well as the welfare of rural society in itself.

It is impossible for a really thoughtful person to measure human happiness or welfare on a strictly material basis. If it could be so measured, the rich would invariably be the happiest, and the only criterion of progress, individual or national, would be increased wealth and income. Nevertheless, for the vast majority of mankind a certain degree of economic security and well-being appear essential to spiritual progress and happiness. I shall, therefore, endeavor to outline some important criteria of economic progress as a basis for the development of the higher values of rural life.

First, we may mention the volume of output per unit of input in agriculture. Since the surface of the land outside of cities is largely serviceable for agriculture and forestry, with no other important alternative use, we may consider input as consisting mainly of labor and the incidental waiting involved in the essential nature of capitalistic production. It has long been recognized that the elaboration of civilization depends on the proportion of population that can be spared from the production of food and other raw materials contributed by agriculture. In 1790, less than 4 per cent of our population lived in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or over, while by 1920 the percentage was nearly 44. It is true, this period saw the transfer to cities of many economic functions not primarily agricul-

tural which had formerly been carried on by the rural population and also a decline in the number of persons in incorporated towns under 8,000; but after allowance is made for these changes, it is apparent that the progress of agricultural efficiency was releasing a considerable number of persons for employment in some of the many other activities which are comprised in our complex civilization.

A German economist has recently estimated that in the United States the persons directly engaged in the production of food for domestic consumption, in the industries which produce the machinery, fertilizers and other production goods employed in food production; in slaughter, preserving and other activities involved in the further preparation of food for domestic consumption; and finally in the distribution of food comprise 29 per cent of our gainfully occupied population. In Germany the corresponding percentage is 43.3[1] The estimate is necessarily rough and the superiority of the food production process in the United States reflects natural advantages as well as human efficiency. Nevertheless there is a suggestion that, as compared with Germany, the food production process in the United States, which is largely though not wholly rural, has achieved a state of progress which permits a larger proportion of our population to engage in other pursuits. This degree of efficiency undoubtedly involves a notable contribution to the general economic well-being of the nation, and without doubt some of the advantage is enjoyed by the rural section of our population.

It would require a long monograph to trace the concrete steps in the progress of American agriculture in achieving the degree of efficiency just outlined. We should have to note the evolution from natural husbandry, through the naked fallow system and other crude field systems to scientific rotation of crops, the development of agricultural machinery, the adaptation of crops and varieties, the introduction and development of purebred livestock, and the discovery and employment of methods of controlling insect pests and plant and animal diseases. These aspects of the story, however, must be left to the agricultural historian.

A second phase of rural economic progress consists in the in-

[1] Kottgen, Karl. Das Wirtschaftliche Amerika (Berlin, 1925), pp. 89-90.

creased variety and improved quality of the products of agriculture. Those of us who have reached middle age can recall when the insipid and mushy Ben Davis apple was the standard of excellence, when butter and cheese reflected, often pungently and odoriferously, the idiosyncrasies of the housewife; and when lettuce was to be had only in the spring out of our own gardens. The great progress in the development of a larger and more delicious assortment of foods and in their standardization and preservation has been the notable contribution to the national life of the joint activity of the farmer, and of the other classes engaged in the processing and distribution of food products.

In one regard, however, there has probably been economic retrogression. I refer to the economic security of our agricultural industry. The rapid development of commercialism in agriculture, the increasingly capitalistic nature of the industry, and the natural uncertainties which grow out of the dependence on sun and rain, heat, cold and frost, have tended to make the economic position of the individual farmer more precarious than it probably was in the days before agriculture had been drawn into the current of modern industrialism. At a time when other occupations are more or less successfully achieving some degree of protection against the extreme severities and uncertainties of unrestricted competition, the farmers have not yet developed the means of avoiding the perils, while preserving the advantages, of the régime of competition. While our farm families are subjected to the financial uncertainties and the stress and strain of "making ends meet," especially under the trying fluctuations of prices and costs that have prevailed during the past few years, they are scarcely in a position to achieve the serenity of mind and to attain the fulness of life and living that should arise from their close association with Nature. I anticipate that the intelligence of the nation will be concentrated on the problem of promoting definite progress in increasing the financial security of the farm family. The farmer himself will largely contribute toward this progress by the development of effective methods of coöperation.

Closely related to the criterion of progress just mentioned is the desirability of a greater degree of stability in rural life. We have always been a migratory people, a tendency largely developed by

the exigencies and opportunities of developing a vast area of virgin territory. This fluidity of our rural life is not without its advantages. The highest degree of efficiency is not compatible with a régime of relatively unchanging status such as prevailed in western Europe during the Middle Ages. The constant sorting of men according to their abilities, so that they may come to occupy the kind and type of farm which suits not only their respective predilections but also their respective financial capacities for organization and management is very desirable; but it is probable that the mere habit of change has been strong upon us and has resulted in a greater degree of mobility than is necessary for the greatest efficiency or desirable from the standpoint of developing the highest values in rural civilization. There is evidence that there is a gradual improvement going on in this respect; and the eventual increase in the security of farming, already discussed, will react toward promoting a larger measure of stability.

Our system of land tenure has been favorable to that fluidity which permits the sorting of men in accordance with their various economic abilities, and has involved reasonable opportunities whereby the efficient and thrifty individuals may make progress in the accumulation of wealth and in achieving the goal of home ownership. This sorting process necessitates a considerable number of rural economic classes—farm laborers, various kinds of tenants, and farm owners. I consider that one criterion of progress is the promotion of the fair and efficient relationships between these classes, with the consequent elimination of any phase of economic exploitation, and the development of the highest possible degree of harmony, good feeling, and coöperation among them.

If we consider the absolute economic progress of our farmers since the pioneer period of the Republic, the record is impressive. The farmer has shared along with other classes in the enormous material progress made possible by machine production and the industrial revolution, a progress whereby even the meanest slum-dweller enjoys certain material facilities and comforts which were not available to the wealthy classes a few generations ago. As compared with the hardships of pioneer life, the modern farmer is able to live in comparative luxury. However, in an economic age like

the present, economic well-being is necessarily relative, and mere progress in the acquisition of material comforts is unlikely to prove a basis for the development of a satisfactory rural civilization, if there are grounds for a widespread conviction that the farming class fails to receive a share in the national dividend commensurate with its contributions to national welfare, and a share capable of maintaining a standard of living comparable in amplitude with that maintained by other classes which contribute an equivalent degree of exertion, skill, and sacrifice. This is not the present situation for the farming class, as shown by the fact that the estimated average net return per farm family in 1924-25, including the value of food and fuel produced and consumed on the farm, was $876; and this was the return for the labor of the farm family and for a net investment of $5,043. Such a condition is not a sound basis for the development of a satisfactory rural civilization.

I believe that progress along the economic lines which have been enumerated is the foundation of, and will tend to promote social and spiritual progress; but it is not safe to assume that these values will inevitably result nor that progress in these last-mentioned regards is measurable by merely the external or material expressions of progress in developing the facilities and institutions of rural civilization. There are some who would measure the social and spiritual progress of our rural civilization by the rapid increase in the number of farm-owned automobiles, radio sets, phonograph records and bathrooms in farm homes. No doubt these facilities are important, but they do not in themselves make a rural civilization. The standard of progress in every form of life is harmonious adjustment to environment and satisfactory self-expression; to use Matthew Arnold's phrase, "the stream of tendency in which all things seek to fulfill the law of their being."

In rural life this self-expression must necessarily be accomplished in the development of a vital occupational interest, a sturdy industrial morale, satisfaction in achievement, and a sense of occupational dignity. In recent years there has been a tendency for urban society to impose its standards on rural people; and some of the most influential standards, such as pecuniary rivalry and conspicuous

and extravagant expenditures, are intrinsically unwholesome. Farming affords a tremendous range of opportunity for the development of objective interests, and the progress of rural civilization will consist in nourishing such interests at the expense of some of the less wholesome stimuli of activity.

The fullest self-expression, though it must be realized largely in the regular occupation, requires a reasonable degree of leisure for recreation, the broadening of the intellectual and spiritual horizon and of the spiritual contacts afforded by the home and the community. The elimination of the ugly and the sordid in home and community, increased interest in the beauties of nature, and the broadening and deepening of intellectual and spiritual interests will be stimulated by an effective community life—schools that stress the beauty and opportunity of the open country, churches that preach the gospel of the presence of God, rural organizations that promote the highest degree of community accomplishment.

These appear to me to be some of the criteria by which we shall measure and test the progress of rural civilization.

WHAT IS THE MEASURE OF RURAL PROGRESS?

L. H. BAILEY,
Formerly Dean, New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University.

What is the measure of rural progress? I do not like the question because I do not know what you mean to imply by "progress." We are so accustomed in these later times to assess human welfare and satisfaction by the word "progress" that we are unable to think of any other means of valuation. I question whether the current concept of progress is a *sine qua non* or indispensable condition, of welfare; therefore I do not know how to answer.

Let me assume, however, that you ask, What is the measure of rural welfare? Then I reply that there is one measure, and that is in intrinsic terms of men and women: *It is the degree of satisfaction the farmer and his family derive from the occupation.* There is one way of finding out what this satisfaction is: *Ask them.* Beyond this, you have only extrinsic assessments, colored by one's psychology,

by the variable winds of opinion, personal interpretation of statistics, and the dubious indices of commerce.

. . . . . .

In a forthcoming book Dr. Bailey has further defined rural welfare in the following passage which he has permitted us to quote:

"We are often asked wherewith we shall measure rural welfare. The measures are commonly sought in some form of accounting, that lends itself to expression in figures; this appears to be the only form that means much to the current mind; we now habitually postulate in terms of groups and unions and "society" and relationships, and try to express ourselves in footings, percentages and averages. We lose ourselves in suppositions. Yet welfare is personal, not relative. Statistics and graphs are always impersonal; they cover numbers and ranges of people, and individual experience and opinion disappear. The only measure of rural welfare is the satisfaction the members of the farm family derive from the occupation and the situation; and the only way to find out this satisfaction is to ask the persons; this is also the scientific way. The answers to such inquiry may vary widely with individuals and may be colored by personality; so does all biological inquiry yield varying results if it is genuine. It is the responsibility of the inquirer to determine what the observations signify.

When numerical and arbitrary measures fail, as fail they must, the subjective and idealistic values remain; if these values are not developed, all the objective and money profits are of little avail. The external status is an unreliable index of intrinsic welfare.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF RURAL PROGRESS?

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD,
President Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science.

What is progress? The answer doubtless depends upon one's philosophy of social purpose and consists in meeting the further question, "What are the ends in view in human activity and association?" Professor Cooley says of progress:

"I hold, then, that progress, like human life in every aspect,

is essentially tentative, that we work it out as we go along, and always must; that it is a process rather than an attainment. The best is forever indefinable; it is growth, renewal, onwardness, hope. The higher life seems to be an upward struggle toward a good which we can never secure, but of which we have glimpses in a hundred forms of love and joy. . . . All history is a reaching out for, a slow, partial realization of, such perceptions."

"Growth, renewal, onwardness, hope"—this is "progress." In constructive effort for progress, in the endeavor to create a society that has in it such measure of social self-direction as seems humanly possible in a world in which "there is something rank and groping about human life," we must try to analyze progress in terms on which at least we can work as a scaffolding.

Progress, then let us say, must be judged at any time by approximation to certain ideals for a democratic society. It is intangible but real. It is development toward those group characteristics that give quality to life. We are too much inclined to measure progress in terms of mechanical conveniences, whereas these conveniences are merely new tools and in practice are quite as frequently used for destroying quality of life as for enhancing it.

Among these ideals for a democratic society, first of all, is freedom, that is, the liberty to hold principles and to engage in activities that release the full powers of individuals and of the group for self-expression. Freedom, of course, is social rather than individual in the sense that the liberty of each individual is restricted by the necessity of recognizing the freedom of other individuals. Self-expression, in turn, implies the best not the worst self.

Closely allied to freedom is opportunity for each individual member as well as for any class or group to develop to full capacity. Freedom is a condition or attitude; opportunity is really a form of activity. A chance to grow means not only the presence of the active factors of growth but the stimulus to utilize the factors.

Organizing ability within a group is clearly a mark of progress, for this means the capacity of a group not only to subordinate the interest of the individual to the larger interest of the group or of society as a whole, but also to foresee ends and to will adequate means to these ends. It implies the development of leadership

which is in itself a condition of group activity and foresight, being both expression of group ideas as well as of the capacity of the ablest individuals to bring others to their point of view.

Obviously, increasing intelligence and the proper education of that intelligence is a mark of progress; an intelligence that can appreciate fundamentals as over against the superficial, and an education that can give the individual not only the necessary facts but the purpose to utilize those facts in terms of common good.

Religion is another element of progress, and if properly defined, is perhaps more than any other the greatest ideal in progress because it demands freedom and opportunity as the conditions necessary for the growth of man, while it also requires coöperation between individuals and groups for the best common ends. Moreover, religion cannot be understood in its full sweep without an educated intelligence.

The progress of the farm group is, of course, relative rather than absolute. There are no set standards at which we can arrive and then celebrate the millennium. Practically rural progress is a matter of comparative status between farmers and others. We may therefore approach our problem from the angle of setting up four general tests of progress, biological, economic, social and political.

First of all, biologically, does the rural group measure up to the other groups in society in matters of physique, of health, and of intelligence? This is a really fundamental query about progress, because it is fairly clear that inferiority at this point brings inferiority all along the line. Whereas, if the tillers of the soil have maintained and can maintain biological prestige, economic, social, and political discriminations can be adjusted. If there be a biological inferiority, progress is vastly hindered, unless indeed we are willing to admit that the rural group must necessarily be, or at least, may safely be of a comparatively lower order than other groups.

The economic progress of farm groups is in practice measured largely by the standard of living. This is usually put on the basis of money income, but, unless carefully guarded, this basis may not be quite fair. It is possible, for example, for the farm family itself to produce food for the table of a variety, of a quality, and of a freshness that can be commanded only by urban people of

considerable wealth. Yet on any purely business basis, this standard of living would scarcely be counted as income in terms of what the wealthy citizen would have to pay. In other words, there is a question of quality in the standard of living, as well as a question of financial expenditure.

The social test of progress is even more difficult and complicated because it involves the standard or quality of life, and this in turn implies the effective service of social institutions. This service is difficult to measure. A small country school or a small country church may be quite as efficient as a big city school or a big city church in actually getting results for the individual. We are inclined to measure these results by mechanical standards instead of by quality of life. Nevertheless, there is a perpetual difficulty in the sparsely settled rural community in maintaining institutions that do impart quality. Social progress is determined in part by the standard of living and the economic income, but not exclusively. We shall never have real progress in rural affairs until we are able to convince people that quality of spiritual life may be had out of an economic situation that may not give the standard of living that we desire. Indeed a high standard of living may bring us progress that is purely artificial and not vital; it may stand in the way of real social progress or quality of life.

The political aspect of rural progress is not unimportant because, in the long run, participation of a group in government is very likely to measure both the extent to which their rights and their duties are exemplified. Perhaps the ideal commonwealth would insure justice to all groups irrespective of their capacity to fight for justice but, so far, it is a rare thing for a group or class of people to gain their full rights unless they have the capacity to secure the rights. The larger problem, which we haven't yet made enough of, is the contribution by a class to the entire good of all society through its voluntary organization, its intelligent understanding, and its moral courage.

These tests of progress are obviously rather general and it behooves us now to lay down some concrete tests that can be applied in actual situations. No attempt is made to make a complete list

and the items in the list, without doubt, must reflect individual viewpoints to some extent.

First of all, the actual tillers of the soil must have the use of the land on terms favorable to progress as we have defined it. This is a fundamental issue. The questions of large farms or small farms, of ownership or tenantry, of machine work or handwork, are not settled entirely by the amount of economic reward but quite as much by the effect of these various arrangements upon rural life as a whole. That is, the issues are in the domain of quality of life as well as of quantity of production or of units of reward. Of course, the wise use of land is a moral obligation upon the land tiller, for the reward to the land user must be checked in terms of the need and the right of society to the best use of the land for the best good of society. Thus the whole land question is the first term in rural progress.

Increasing production and the accompanying maintenance of fertility is clearly a test of rural progress. The land is the greatest natural resource vouchsafed to mankind, and if this resource is wasted or misused, a criminal wrong has been done to society itself. It is possible, of course, to purchase a high degree of productivity per unit of land in terms of low quality of life for the man behind the plow. So here again, the matter of social values, of quality of life, of freedom, of opportunity are quite as important as production of numbers of units of food or fibre from a given amount of land. Fundamentally, however, a system of agriculture which does not result in increased productivity and constant maintenance of fertility cannot be called progressive agriculture.

Another test of progress is that the real income of the farming classes shall be fairly comparable with that of other groups. When we come to make figures, this obvious test of progress becomes a difficult one. Among farmers as a group we have a wide range of capacity. As a matter of fact, agriculture, almost more than any other industry, permits inferior men to gain sufficient food to keep body and soul together, without offering any measure of real progress. What, then, shall be the measure of real income that the farmer may rightfully demand? Further, in making comparisons with other groups, shall we put the highly skilled laborer

against the farmer as a capitalist, or shall we measure the farmer's reward against the rewards of the owners and operators of the highly centralized industry? Or shall we measure him against the small merchant who has about the same amount of capital involved? Or again, shall we measure the individual farmer over against some other recipients of income, say the clerks. Or shall we put the whole class of farmers against some other comparable industry such as transportation? These questions are all important and very difficult, but we shall have to decide upon some fair basis of comparison. Probably we shall decide that interest at current rates upon capital invested, and wages of labor and management comparable with fairly skilled labor is a just basis.

Another test of progress is mobility with permanence of population. America suffers from an unpermanent agriculture. There are other countries which suffer from a permanent agriculture, and a rural status. Whenever it is difficult for young people born on the farm to get away from the farm, or whenever tradition is so thoroughly entrenched that it stands in the way of the application of science and of good management, farming is clearly not progressive. We must discover a method by which the movement out of the rural classes, if not the movement into it, can be ensured, while at the same time continuity of the effective use of land and the maintenance of community institutions can be fostered.

It is not too much to ask that the mechanical conveniences available for the farm and the household shall be comparable at least to those available in village life. Just because of our desire for quality of rural life, we have a right to devices that free the body and mind for opportunity for securing quality of life. At any rate, here is a practical demand that must be met as one of the factors in progressive agriculture.

Rural life must have social opportunity somewhat equivalent to that of the city. All of the values that are tied up in good schools, in good churches, in health, in opportunity for adult education, and in recreation must be available on fairly easy terms to rural people. These opportunities may not be identical to those of the city but they should be equivalent. We may discover that a rural school that is simply a replica of the city school is a disadvantage

rather than an advantage. On the other hand, if we discover that the rural school is less effective in giving a good education to its students than is the city school, we have stopped rural progress to that extent.

Another test of progress in rural affairs is such collective action and personal leadership and influence as results in good organization. Good organization may have several outlets. One of its outlets should be maximum efficiency for rural folk in terms of units of endeavor. In other words, the policy and program of agriculture should be such that in any given geographical unit like a county, an area, a state, a region, a nation, or in the world itself, the largest possible efficiency is gained in the task of growing and distributing foods and fibres. However, the most important units to be developed are the individual farm and farm home, the local community and the community as a whole. The extent in which the scientific method can be applied in these units is surely a test of progress.

Organization must also find its outlet in buying together and selling together, in pooling the assets, both physical and moral, of the group on behalf of financial credit, insurance of various types, and so on. In other words, the collective economic power of the farming group must be used for the collective advantage of the group.

Organization should also show itself in political activity, both on behalf of the interests of agriculture and on behalf of agriculture in the interests of humanity. Many deprecate the bloc system in our present day national politics, and it is, of course, true that a political situation in any country that is governed by the selfish interests of a minority or groups is not a healthy situation; yet it may be a necessary step in progress toward the larger coöperation of groups. Evidently, from now on, political action will be governed more and more by economic and social interests, and those interests for the time being will be class or group interests. The situation can be saved only by mobilizing the power of a group, say of the farm group, on behalf of the common good of all economic groups.

It is probable that in this organization, the development of the local rural community comes more nearly being an adequate single test for rural progress than any other. It is in this little local group

of neighbors where, if anywhere, these tests of progress can be applied. If where the farm village life prevails, or if the local town and country community in those areas where farmers live on isolated farms cannot, through collective action, develop and maintain the ideals and apply both the general and the concrete tests of progress, we may as well give up hope for progress.

It will be observed that this discussion of rural progress clearly involves the philosophy that an agriculture based on economic tests alone cannot be permanent, any more than agriculture based on sentimental tests alone can be permanent. Nevertheless, the main question is quality of life rather than quantity of goods. We cannot ignore quantity of goods because the activities of people are largely concerned with production of goods, but we have to find progress eventually in quality of life. So our tests even of economic progress cannot be made wholly in terms of quantity, of amounts, or of profits, but must be made also in terms of what economic profit may truly profit the human soul.

This discussion cannot be closed without an assertion that a love for the work and life of the country-side is also a test of progress.

> "There is a world of wonder in the rose;
> God made it, and his whole creation grows
> To a point of perfect beauty
> In this garden broad."

And not only alone the rose, but wheat and corn and cotton, sheep and oxen, and cattle on a thousand hills.

A rural life that makes no response to the spiritual wealth involved in the growth of plants and animals, in the procession of the seasons, in coöperation with nature, in the opportunity to be a worker together with God, is a poor sort of life.

WHAT IS THE MEASURE OF RURAL PROGRESS?

R. A. PEARSON,
President University of Maryland

Is it found in the way we maintain in any community the standards already established?

Is it in the degree of success with which one community copies another?

Does it mean the extent that rural communities adopt city standards?

Is rural progress to be measured by the increase of land values or by the kinds of crops or livestock?

All of these, especially the last index, are more or less incidental to real rural progress, but anyone by itself or all are worthless in comparison with the status of rural people themselves whose skill and work so largely determine the material advances that have been suggested.

Shall we then swing to the other side and say that rural progress must be measured by the health, education or culture of the people on the farms? Such unit of measurement also would be false.

Rural progress can best be measured first by the people engaged in rural activities,—their character, ability and aspirations, and second, by their achievements,—the development of material improvements and the use of methods of farming which will maintain and improve the physical equipment for the best use for generations to come.

It is a fifty-fifty proposition. Half depends upon the human organization and driving genius on our farms. The other half depends upon what the people actually accomplish in the interest of the present and future generations.

The following factors are among the principal indices of rural progress:

1. The character and aspirations of rural people. This hardly needs explanation. It includes those qualities which we like most to think about in connection with our ancestors.
2. Coöperation of farm people in a broad sense such as is manifested by rural organizations and general community improvements.
3. Education for rural life. The effect of education on the vocational and avocational activities of people is striking. This is shown in what they are doing and how they accomplish it, and it is shown by the books on their shelves, the subjects of conversation, the furnishing and decoration of the home, the food and its preparation, etc.

4. Standards of living. These should be comparable with standards of living of other people engaged in occupations representing equal capital and calling for equal intelligence.
5. Financial returns which mean farm profits. There can be little rural progress unless farming is profitable.
6. The distribution of agricultural wealth. This relates to fair arrangements as to ownership, tenancy, farm wages and working conditions.
7. Conservation of agricultural resources. Farming should not be considered profitable unless it is based upon a plan for permanent agriculture rather than upon the reckless use of our greatest natural resource, soil fertility.

Chapter II

THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF FARM LIFE

When the happiness of the urban dweller is balanced with that of the rural dweller, a great number of factors must be weighed if we are to have a true evaluation of the satisfaction which is obtained by each group.

We are now in the midst of an exodus of the younger generation from the country to the city. We may therefore raise the question whether this is entirely due to economic causes or whether urban life presents an appeal in the æsthetic and cultural sense which is not being met by the country. May we assume, from the movement of population, that the contact with nature, the freedom, and the right to be one's own master, do not give a deeper, more constant satisfaction than do the excitement and continual social contact which urban life affords.

Although the country offers more potential inducement for true enjoyment of living, there is a lack of development of some of the elements which would enable the farmer to have a full appreciation of his environment. There is need of more social influences to supplement the outdoor activity making possible a keener appreciation of both phases. As one of the authors states "there is time in the country to think but unfortunately there are not always materials upon which to meditate". Again, nature may be wonderful but there is no force present to stimulate the observer's imagination.

In this chapter the authors have set forth some of the non-economic factors which are a part of the rural income. They present the fact that the country is a more ideal place to rear

a family as the children are likely to receive more parental guidance, disciplinary training, a deeper sense of responsibility and an intimate conception of the values of life.

The farmer has the satisfaction of managing his business and feels that his work is really creative. There is also a feeling of security, confidence and hope among country folks.

Things which stimulate the imagination are reaching out into the country and are creating new wants, the fulfillment of which will mean greater happiness to the rural family.

The writers in the last chapter agree that rural progress can not be measured solely in terms of financial income or material advancement. As Dean Bailey points out, the final measure of rural welfare is the satisfaction of farm people in their life on the land, and this is dependent upon their appreciation of some of the intangible values of farm life.

It seems important, therefore, to give some consideration to these values of farm life which are chiefly subjective or personal, for if, as Dr. Butterfield has indicated (pg. 18), "a love for the work and life of the countryside is also a test of rural progress", then one of the tests of the various factors which enter into rural progress is whether they increase the meaning and joy of life on the farm.—M. L. W.

WHAT ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL SATISFACTIONS OR VALUES IN FARM LIFE?

EUGENE DAVENPORT,
Formerly Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois

Money has long been the measure of success and too often it is considered the yardstick of happiness. More and more, however, with the aging of the world, with the development of the full powers of man and the broadening of his knowledge and his vision, we are beginning to find other satisfactions in life than those which are purchasable by money, valuable as most of them are.

And, just as many a man has realized greater satisfaction in dis-

posing of his money than he did in acquiring it, so will men, more and more, realize the benefit of many advantages which too often we have either taken for granted or underestimated. In this category will be found many of the satisfactions that by nature inhere in the life and business we call farming, prominent among which are the following:

Managing one's own business however small, with the elation and stimulus that comes only to the enterpriser who takes the hazard of an adventure and enjoys the rewards of success is a satisfaction.

The advantage of being one's own boss, of setting one's self to work, of not taking orders from or being obliged to ask for even the slightest change of hours or service as a matter of personal favor is not only an abiding comfort but it reacts upon the character, the independence and the resourcefulness of the man as a citizen and a father of citizens.

The farmer lives closer in touch with his family than does or can almost any other business man. His boys work with him, side by side, at the same jobs, and he has the satisfaction of being their pal if he will, of knowing where they are, what they are doing and that they, too, are acquiring habits of industry and resourcefulness.

Life in the open appeals to every normal man, while congestion is agreeable only to those who must seek satisfaction in excitement. Reasonable quiet and, especially in the long winter evenings, a kind of leisure that few other business men can enjoy, all conspire to reading and reflection of which we, as a people, stand in increasing need as interests multiply and distractions increase.

Producing something apparently out of nothing, as when a few small seeds germinate, grow and ripen into an abundant crop, is an experience that appeals to those in whom the creative instinct is strong as it is in the mechanic as well as in the farmer.

Caring for and associating with animals, commonplace and unattractive as it may seem to many a non-farmer, is, after all, a source of intense satisfaction to a large proportion of those who live by the land and one who has never handled horses, for example, can never know quite what that means.

Taken together, crops and animals afford opportunity to work a vast variety of combinations—so vast that the intelligent and

resourceful farmer seems almost like a creator in his workshop, manipulating his materials as inclination dictates, not very different, indeed, from the artist who works with colors.

Besides, there is the fascination of new varieties and improved breeds with always the possibility of changing plants and animals almost as the sculptor alters his model of clay according as fancy suggests new forms that may be created out of old materials.

Farming not only permits but encourages the simpler forms of living that most men crave and that are, upon the whole, most profitable to society as well as beneficial to the individual. If we are to look to excitement for satisfaction, we pursue a phantom, for excitement, like an all pervading drug, fattens on what it feeds and requires larger and still larger doses to satisfy.

So the list of satisfactions might be multiplied indefinitely but none that could be mentioned would quite equal the hope of owning a home of one's own with the power to surround it with the things one particularly enjoys. In the city only extreme wealth can secure what, in the country, is the farmer's privilege almost for the asking; indeed, all he has to do is to cultivate his own surroundings.

Some of the satisfactions will need money for their realization but none in any great amounts except what is invested in the land which is at once the factory, the workshop and the home.

And finally, the chief satisfaction in farm life, as estimated by most thinking men, is the fact that it is a wonderful place for the rearing of boys and girls, not into blasé maturity, but into upstanding, resourceful and straight-away American citizens, entirely capable of self direction and self government.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SATISFACTIONS OF RURAL LIFE

E. R. EASTMAN,
Editor of the American Agriculturist

One of the fascinating things to me as a small farm boy was to kick the top off of an ant hill on my way to the back pasture after the cows and to watch the little creatures hurry hither and thither, apparently without any aim or goal. Time and again I have stood on a city street or in one of the great railroad terminals in New York

City, watching the people rushing around, all going in different directions, with their strained and serious faces, and remembered the ants and the ant hill. The thought always comes that so far as any real fundamental object in life is concerned, the rushing back and forth of people in this hurrying age is often as hopeless and futile as was the aimless hurrying of the ants.

It has always seemed to me that just about the most tragic thing in life is the failure of most of us to realize the real goal of life and that whether we be farmers or laborers in the city, doctors, lawyers, merchants, or whether we are rushing this way or going that, the one thing which we are all after is to be happy ourselves and to bring happiness to others.

Said those wise founders of this nation of ours: "We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

And yet, in spite of the fact that the average man and woman have more today than ever before in the way of material possessions, there never was a time in the world's history when unrest and dissatisfaction were more widespread than they are now, when, it would seem, there were so few who were attaining many of those fundamental satisfactions of life which make for happiness.

With all of our getting, have we gotten understanding? With all of our reaching for material goals, have we overlooked that deeper, more desirable thing for which we are searching? Someone has said that the great majority of those men whom the world knows as successful have spent the first half of their lives attaining power and riches at the expense of their own happiness and the happiness of their families only to find, often too late, that their gold is fool's gold, and so they spend their last years trying to get away from the slavery of material possessions back to the simple fundamental things.

The pasture over the fence always seems greener than our own. The other fellow's community, the other fellow's job, the other fellow's possessions seem better than our own, while to him the reverse is true. We of this age need a truing up of our sense of values. We need a better measuring stick that will give us more

appreciation of those things of the spirit, of the simple things, which are the essence of happiness.

Of these finer possessions, the farmer has a bountiful share. In mentioning a few of them, I in no way fail to recognize the farmers' problems and troubles, of which he has many, but I sometimes think that farm people themselves and their friends have emphasized the problems and the troubles of country life without giving due credit to the compensations and the satisfactions which serve in some measure to balance the darker side.

First of all, there is the privilege of association with the soil and with the plant and animal life, an association that strengthens character and cleanses the spirit. I have always objected to the term "dirt farmer," for dirt may mean something dirty or filthy, while pure soil is the cleanest and most purifying thing in all the world.

Every plowman gets a sense of fleeting happiness from the cleanly, invigorating fragrance of newly turned earth in the springtime. Look across a field of clover and think of the little nodules which grow on the roots, how they take the nitrogen from the air, and feed it to the growing plant and to the soil itself; know what that clover means not only to the soil but to the animals it will later feed, and that knowledge will give you satisfaction.

Ole Hansen, manager of a coöperative creamery company in Nebraska, speaks of the "seventh wonder" of the ancient times built by the son of Nebuchadnezzar, "the Hanging Gardens of Babylon." "We are told," says Mr. Hansen, "that the wonderful aroma from the many millions of flowers from this ancient and magnificent garden was so strong that it penetrated the air for miles and miles."

And then he compares the hanging gardens of Babylon to a modern alfalfa field. "As I travelled," he says, "through this fertile valley with its thousands of acres of alfalfa in bloom, and as I inhaled the sweet scent coming off those floating fields, I could not help but think about what a wonderful garden spot this Nebraska alfalfa field really was. I thought about the ancient gardens of Babylon, and I realized that right here we can discount it a million

times with our valleys full to the brim with the sweet smelling alfalfa."

One of my most cherished memories is that of Father of a Sunday afternoon starting off for a walk across his farm. I can see him yet as he went walking slowly down the lane with hands clasped behind his back. I can see him as he climbed the fence and sat for a time to look off across the meadows, the growing corn and potatoes, and the other crops that he was growing in partnership with his God. Father was not an expressive man, but I know that as he looked at those things and realized his partnership with Nature, he had a satisfaction, a sense of real happiness that no money could ever purchase.

I know, too, that at the end of the long season's work, when Father and other farmers went into their barns filled with results of the labor of their hands and saw the cattle in their stanchions, waiting eagerly to be fed, there came again a glimpse of that thing we call happiness.

So, too, did Mother, and those other farm women it has been my privilege to know, obtain something of the fundamental compensations of rural life. Well I remember how, after Mother had worked all summer in the hot kitchen putting up the berries and preserves of various kinds for the coming winter, with great pride she would take her neighbors and friends down into the cellar to show them the long rows of canned stuff which she had preserved with her own hands.

Twenty-five years ago there were still a good many old-fashioned berry slashings throughout the Eastern farm country. As a youngster, I used to take a milk pail and after travelling across the hills two or three miles to one of these slashings, I would spend the forenoon filling the pail with the big blackberries. Coming out of the berry patch almost consumed with thirst, I travelled across the little patch of pasture land into the larger woods where a spring of ice cold water bubbled out of the earth. Throwing myself flat, I drank my fill of the water. Nothing in all the world has ever tasted so good since. It was one of those fleeting glimpses of happiness, a fundamental satisfaction of country life.

That fine old Southern farm paper called "The Progressive

Farmer" has been running a little series of letters from country folks on the subject "Country Things I Love Most." These letters state so well from actual experience some of the fundamental country things which make for happiness that I quote portions of them here.

One country woman writes:

"These things I love:

"The sound and sight of wild geese in a snakelike line against a dull November sky.

"Roaring fires in stoves and fireplaces.

"The distant sound of a woodman's axe.

"The nicker of a horse for his corn."

Another farm woman says:

"I love the awakening of spring, heralded by the bluebirds, robin redbreasts and whippoorwills.

"I love the green tips of buds and leaves, the pure white fragrant blossoms of the syringa, and I love to watch my winter window revealing new growth and beauty.

"Last but not least, if I cannot have what I like, I love to like what I have."

And still another says:

"I love the early morning hush before the summer dawn, and the soft spring rain that comes to wake my newly planted garden—the silvery kind that falls with the sun 'a-shining through.'

"The quiet solitudes, where one may steal away and be alone and yet not lonely.

"I love the white fairy veil of the first snowflakes over the bare brown hills and woods and dark green pines against a background of cold gray sky.

"I love the long low western hill guarding the home spot, over which winds the long white road where people come to us, bright in the morning sunlight, dark under the stormcloud's shadow, or pale and peaceful under the evening star. Through this star as a child I saw the lost baby brother I had never seen; through it an answer could come to the long, long thoughts of youth; through it, when old age shall come, I shall look to 'that still land beyond the evening star'."

No business in the world is as closely associated with the home as is farming. No business gives the father such an opportunity to personal contact with his children. In the city, the father leaves in the morning before the younger children are up, and often he

gets home so late that the children are in bed. If he sees them at all, it is when he is tired and worn from the labors of the day.

No place in the world equals the farm home for the rearing of children and for the opportunity of giving them the association with natural, growing things of both plant and animal life, a place to play in the open air under natural conditions, and the fresh air and food of the farm to build their young bodies. No place in the world is so good as the farm in the training of both the boy and the girl in habits of work and responsibility that will mean their success later on in life.

So, too, the farm home, perhaps in larger proportion than other homes, is the place where love abides. Problems of the business are mutual problems to be worked out by both father and mother together. Perhaps it is the soil and the natural things of life which surround the men and women of the farm which give them a deeper sense of responsibility and steadfastness toward each other, toward their community, their country, and their God.

These are some of the things that the farm boy who has gone to the city never forgets. No matter what his so-called success may be, deep in his heart these things are ever calling him back, for no matter how high he has climbed in worldly power and material attainment, he never again is able to touch the high spots of happiness that come to those who work and live upon the land and who are able to appreciate and enjoy the happiness that comes from simple, fundamental things.

FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF FARM LIFE

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1. The fundamental values of farm life are mainly spiritual. High among these values is the discipline which farm life affords. The farm family remains a closely compact institution. In the city there are more than signs of the family's weakening, even of its dissolution, at points. The whole industrial organization of the city is different from that of the country. There industry is organized outside of, and over and above, the home. Not infrequently all mem-

bers of the urban family work outside of the home, and no two in the same place or, possibly, at the same type of labor. Each member of the family may have a different regimen, different needs, a different schedule, different tastes, interests, and very likely a different philosophy of life. There is little in such a family to mold the members to a common set of ideals or practices. About all that is common in such a case is the dwelling place and even this may not be occupied by all in the same waking hours.

The rural family has not wholly escaped these disturbing influences. Even on the farm, at a distance from the commercialization and industrialization of the city, the coming of good roads, the use of the automobile, the multiplication of commercialized amusements in the towns and villages have done much to expand the range of contacts of its members beyond the confines of the home. Even the mail brings new incentives, with new knowledge, to seek these contacts in an ever widening circle. In this way much of the farm home unity inevitably disappears and with it the discipline of solidarity.

What is this discipline of solidarity which the traditional farm home offered? The farm home is—or was—a close corporation. The farm is—or was—a domestic industry, the last of the great domestic industries. Everybody in the farm family had, and still has to a large degree, the same interests at heart, the success of the agricultural enterprise upon which the home was dependent. There is, to be sure, specialization of labor on the farm. Some members do one sort of work and others have other responsibilities. But the ownership is in common. Each member has an interest, perhaps a life interest, in the farm and its success. Here he learns, while still very young, to feel responsibility—intellectual and material—for the family enterprise. Here he learns the lesson of loyalty, the necessity and desirability of subjecting transitory personal impulses and desires to the greater ends of the whole. This is the greatest lesson of discipline which civilization has to teach, and it is the most necessary. Until this lesson is learned there can be no great corporate civilization. It is the lesson of responsibility.

Moreover, it is also the lesson of sympathy and of mutual aid which comes from living together. Farm families usually are bound

together by strong ties. They have lived so much together that the members are necessary to one another. Marriage survives longer here. Children may go away in search of things the city has to offer, but they rarely break old home ties permanently. Where people eat, work, and sleep together, have their amusement in common, go to the same country school together, are members of the same country church, toil and suffer together for the same ends, the ties that bind them are not easily broken.

Another disciplinary factor in the farm family is the fact that each child has tasks assigned to him. There is always enough for everybody to do on the farm and even the smaller children have lighter duties. Even if it is no more than to carry in the wood or coal, go after the cows, keep the chickens out of the garden, or weed and water the flower beds, it is a regularly recurring obligation. And, above all, it is a functional obligation. There is nothing artificial in it, of the character so often invented by city fathers and mothers who wish to develop in their children some sense of obligation through responsibilities. Such work, because it is recurrent, helps to develop the attitude of constancy, of regularity, and, because it is necessary, the attitude of community of interest, of partnership.

It is because of these and like characteristics of rural life that it has been so valuable as a disciplinary force in the lives of the young. It has produced strong and loyal characters. Young men and women from country homes have always been sought after by men who wished faithful and ambitious workers. The city also may develop these characteristics, but not so easily, not so much as a matter of course.

2. Another value of the country is its freedom, but this quality is not without limitations.

The freedom of the country for the country man lies in the fact that his environment permits him in a degree to be himself, to develop individuality, to escape in some measure from being merely the reflection of the mode. There is time to think in the country, but unfortunately there are not always materials, data, to think with. The intervals between discussion in the country give time for reflection and the examination of the points presented. The mere fact of being able to be one's self, to function as a personality, is a great

achievement in our day. It is possible in the cities only for the limited few—for those who have found artificial methods of detaching themselves from the crowd. The scholar, the thinker, the philosopher, who can see over the heads of men and who have learned to judge behavior relatively are able to achieve this result. But their kind is not numerous. The great masses of the urban population are but reflections in the common public mirror.

3. In a measure also the country offers greater spiritual completeness to the individual than does the city. This contention may be denied, and, therefore, we must draw a distinction. Unquestionably the city is richer in most phases of spiritual content than is the country, but it is more difficult for the city man to embrace all aspects of his environment. It is too complex, too vast for him to assimilate it without special training. The philosopher may do this and the city may be his proper element. But in the main he is able to come in contact with the significance of the city as a whole, to live in all aspects of it because his contacts with the city are largely abstract. The man who works, whose profession falls within the limits of some small aspect or phase of urban life, rarely sees the meaning of the whole. The city is too specialized, the division of labor has gone too far, for any but the social scientist or philosopher to see the whole of it as a unit. Those who live by specialization must live in unions, professional or class organizations.

The country has lost much of its isolation and the farmer is increasingly immersing himself in the larger affairs of the nation. But country life and rural contacts are still so sufficiently simple and primary that it is possible for the average individual to experience most of them and to absorb them in his personality. It is thus that country life offers him relatively a greater spiritual completeness, although on the whole a simpler and more primary spiritual content. Justice, right, obligation, evil, duty, all principles and elements of character, appear relatively simple. Moral cases seem more clear cut. The complicating factors are absent or are not so evident. Feelings are more straightforward and genuine. That puzzling, and often enervating, fact of the relativity of principles, of morals, even of truth itself, which gives so much trouble and blocks the will in carrying out a definite program in the city, does not ordinarily

trouble the country man. What this means is that life in the country is relatively simple, that principles are, therefore, clear cut, and choices are comparatively easy to make. Character also remains well integrated, because there are not so many conflicting impulses, so many divergent duties, nor so many phases of life and groups to which one must make adjustments.

Because of this greater spiritual unity or completeness of rural life, one can usually live more normally in the rural environment. We do not so frequently find there the marked disintegration or distortion of personality which is so often observed in the city. The insanity rate of the country is only half that of the city.

In a sense, therefore, the greater spiritual completeness of the country is a negative virtue. Country life is complete and well integrated, and the personalities of rural people are less torn by conflicts because life is simpler and problems are not so difficult to solve.

4. It follows, I think, that rural people have on the whole, a more intimate conception of the sincere relationships and values of life. At least they are closer to the personal values of every day. Their life is lived, as Cooley would say, in the central current of human experience. The fact of living mainly in primary groups carries with it a sensitiveness to primary human emotions which the abstractness and derivative quality of urban contacts so often fails to give. The naïve sincerity and blunt frankness of country children is a matter of remark, and the "enjoyment" of funerals by country and village women is traditional. Likewise they love weddings and other intimate emotional situations. The city makes one blasé.

5. In the country the average man still has a chance to work creatively. Farming being primarily a domestic industry the work is not for the most part highly specialized. Each one does things as wholes, and the individual farmer has the problem of planning the organization of his farm and the production and disposal of his crops. There is no end to the opportunity of exercising one's intellectual and creative faculties. The greatest difficulty is that so few farmers are adequately trained for the most successful employment of these faculties. The farmer is not a mere cog in a great industrial machine, fashioning all day long a small portion of some

single tool or process, as is the case with the city factory worker. Neither does he work uniformly under strict orders or supervision, as is the case with laborers on public works. Nearly all of the farm tasks are distinctive, unlike those of others working on the same farm. And much, perhaps most, of the farmer's work is solitary. These facts not only render it possible, but make it necessary, for the worker to use his own initiative. Every farmer knows that the problems of the farm are so numerous that they become even a burden, while the city factory worker may experience an intellectual hunger because of the monotony of his task. Every good farmer is an inventor, and in some degree a master of all trades as well as a politician or a statesman, according as the necessities of his inter-farm relations determine. Such a life develops, in the apt mind and vigorous spirit, a large degree of resourcefulness in meeting new situations.

6. The last major fundamental value of rural life is the fact that the farmer has an opportunity to get at the heart of nature. Someone has said that almost all of the beautiful nature poetry has been written by city people, a fact which should not surprise us. City people have had the training in verbal expression which makes the writing of poetry possible. And it is also true that expression in verbal form, or in painting, is most likely to occur in the face of the surprise upon first coming in contact with a new experience. People who live amidst great mountains have no basis of comparison with which to appreciate to the full their grandeur. Yet it cannot be doubted that close familiarity also makes its contribution to the technique of appreciation. No one understands or values art so much as the artist, although he has been surrounded by it all his days. Only he can penetrate to the full its meaning. The enjoyment of nature by the farmer is doubtless less tumultuous than that of the infrequent visitor to country scenes, but it is also frequently more profound, often even mystical.

Chapter III

THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE

Our analysis of the term "rural progress" showed that it involved two main elements—economic efficiency and human welfare. Just what, then, is economic efficiency in agriculture, what is its standard or goal? Very often economic efficiency in agriculture has seemed to be chiefly a matter of maximum agricultural production at lowest costs. Professors Nourse and Black have answered our query with statements which give a new interpretation to the term "economic efficiency". They agree in recognizing that in addition to decreasing the ratio between the output and the input of the farm business, economic efficiency requires the maintenance of a standard of living which will enable the farmer to "carry on". This idea of the functional relation of human welfare and technical efficiency involves a new statement of economic values and goes far toward clarifying the general question of our inquiry.—D. S.

THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE

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In the old days the formula of economic efficiency for the farmer was "working hard to raise more corn to feed more hogs to sell for enough money to buy more land on which to work still harder to raise still more hogs to buy yet more land . . ." and so on ad infinitum. But any such formula will not do at all to express the proper aspirations of the modern farmer for himself and his family,

nor does it express any tenable policy of the nation with reference to its rural citizens. From the modern standpoint, the cycle of agriculture can be stated in much more inspiring terms. Let us try to outline such a statement.

The goal of economic efficiency in agriculture is to have the farm population work most effectively to produce products in proportion as there is market demand for them in order to secure a family income which will permit of wholesome living conditions, provide enough leisure so that farm workers may secure the rest and inspiration necessary to send them at tomorrow's task in full vigor and with a zest for their work, to buy the equipment called for by the forward movement of scientific and mechanical technique, and leave a surplus in the family budget sufficient to educate the rising generation so well that they will be fitted to meet the enlarging demands for both technical and economic preparedness for handling the agricultural needs of the next generation.

When the engineer sets out to build an efficient automobile or electric generator or rotary printing press, he demands the best of materials. Otherwise he will have a machine that can produce only low quality work and be constantly breaking down or failing in emergencies. And yet the same men who know this fact and who act upon it in their own field, who buy the best equipment and hire the most proficient mechanics to tend and operate it, often advocate cheapening the material of our national agriculture. They say that if farm folk would quit buying automobiles, radios, and elaborate consolidated schools and would work hard and save their money, they would prosper and make the nation prosperous.

They forget that pork chops or beefsteak of fine quality can be produced most efficiently and hence most cheaply on the best Corn Belt farms where money is spent rather freely in the process, whereas the poor, ignorant hill-billy farmer with his scrub stock and primitive methods produces a poor product at the high costs which inefficiency always entails.

The submerged farmer has but a meagre harvest to offer at the end of his year, a scanty and uninviting surplus, if any, above his own subsistence. Hence he can do but little to support the industry and culture that non-agricultural populations aspire to develop upon

the secure and ample basis of a large farm surplus. Stated from the other side, the inefficient farmer offers but a poor market for the goods and services that the industrial, commercial, and professional classes have to sell.

Older civilizations experimented with schemes of slave and serf labor and were reasonably successful in developing a rich life for the few by depressing the living standards of the many. But they found that both classes suffered deterioration in the process, and total productivity fell throughout societies so organized. Today we are working toward a democratic system designed to give everyone the most by means of giving each the inducement to work his best with the largest possible equipment of labor-saving machinery. We have learned in industry the efficiency of a short working day, adequate training, and inspiriting working and living conditions. These same elements of efficiency are equally important in agriculture, and the farmer needs to struggle more single-mindedly to enforce such standards there. By serving his own interest in this direction, he will serve the mystical god "the Consumer," and the country as a whole.

WHAT IS THE GOAL OR STANDARD OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE?

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I do not know when I have ever set forth upon an adventure in writing with any more trepidation than right now. As I look over the general outline into which this account of mine is expected to fit, for which, as a matter of fact, it seems to be destined to serve as a sort of prelude, I find so many terms used that have never acquired any commonly recognized meanings, some of which I am sure mean something very different to me, and no doubt to other economists, than they do to those who prepared the syllabus, that I become dismayed and fearful lest I confuse more than I clarify. Take, for examples, such terms as standard of living, social goods, non-economic goods, social values, economic efficiency, social efficiency.

THE LIMITS OF ECONOMICS

Bad form though it be, it is clear, therefore, that I must start in this discussion by defining a few of the terms that I cannot avoid using. Otherwise we shall be in utter confusion and despair from the beginning to end of our chapter. And I shall have to start in with economics itself! *Economics is the science which furnishes the basis of the art of administering or utilizing human and natural resources in such a way as to secure the maximum satisfaction of human wants from them.* The final end of all study is the improving of the art of living. Living is the satisfying of human wants, this phrase being broadly interpreted. Living is improved by utilizing human and natural resources in such a way as to obtain a fuller satisfaction of human wants from them, that is by economizing them. To economize is to make a little go as far as possible, to put to the most valuable possible use. That use of a thing is most valuable which enables it to contribute most to the satisfaction of human wants. Economics explains how things get their value, and the way of using them that enables them to contribute most to the satisfaction of human wants and hence have the highest possible value. It really has two aspects, the *use* aspect, and the *value* aspect. The value aspect is secondary—it is only a means to the other. Yet the use aspect is the one that is most often overlooked. Some have defined economics as the "science of value." As a matter of fact, we are interested in value only because it furnishes the key to use—the most valuable use is the right use.

To understand economical use, one needs to consider more than the mere fact of values of things. One needs to consider the circumstances that determine how much and what value of product results in a given use. Administered in a certain way, a certain factory will turn out a fifth more product—what values for all contributing factors will result? This is a question of economics and a question of major significance. But of first significance is the question as to how and why this particular use turned out the larger product. This is the use or administration phase of economics.

In answering this latter question, obviously many sciences are

involved besides economics. The science of chemistry is involved in the better utilization of the plant foods in the soils, in the better balancing of feed rations for cattle, in the better cooking of meat, in the milling of flour and baking of bread. The science of physics is involved in the designing of buildings, in the manufacture of cloth, in the construction of a road, in lighting and heating, in the telephone, in the radio, and even in music. Biology is involved in the breeding and care of all forms of plants and animals, even humans. By no means least among these basic sciences is psychology, involved in the learning processes, in teaching, reading, writing, advertising and publicity, management of men, and in the development of an effective system of government. A sort of applied physics or mechanics of a sort is involved in every question of organization of an enterprise and layout of work. Is the organization such that the plant and equipment and labor forces are idle as little as possible? So that each person is doing the work at which he has comparative advantage? Is there no waste motion or needless duplication of performance? Is there no left-over energy or material? The science of economics does not, of course, try to develop any of the principles of these assisting sciences—although sometimes it has to point the way to them. For the most part it merely employs the principles and data of these sciences in arranging most economical use and accounting for differences and fluctuations in values.

More Values Included Than Market Values

Now let us stop for a minute and make entirely clear that the uses we are talking about, and the values we are talking about, are not merely of those things which are bought and sold openly in the market place, and hence have dollar and cents values, but of all forms of goods and service, all human activity whatsoever. In the last analysis, what we are interested in economizing is human energy—we economize nature's resources only because by so doing we make human resources go farther. The choice of use of one's time between staying at the office and playing golf is just as much a matter of economics as the choice between using hand labor or

dies for cutting out the parts of shoe uppers; the choice between travel and fishing as a means of recreation is as much a matter of economics as the choice between two brands of coffee by a housewife, or two brands of flour by a baker. A municipality is making an economic choice when it votes money for an auditorium in place of a new high school building, or when it votes for a hospital in place of public playgrounds. Values are merely the expressions of choices. Each individual has his own scale of preferences or relative values for different objects and services and different uses of his own time and energy. Every time a choice is made, a valuation is made. Choice and value are merely two aspects of the same thing, the two sides of the same angle. Likewise are choices and use. Choice is for the sake of use. Use and value determine each other. Value is determined by contribution to the satisfaction of human wants as determined by use.

Many goods and services or uses of human time and energy are made matters of choice often enough and openly enough so that a market rate of exchange or *price* comes to be commonly recognized. In such cases, a sort of combined scale of preferences is set up, culminating in a "perfect" market, in an exact equilibrium point that is called the *market price*. If the market is less perfect, there is no exact equilibrium point, and hence no certain market price. But in the aggregate, probably a majority of choices never get into such a market nexus, or else become involved in it only indirectly. Our proverbial friend Robinson Crusoe made hundreds of valuations every day, with never a market anywhere within reach. In a self-sufficing type of farm economy, market valuations enter very little. Even on a modern farm, most of the choices which the operator makes of the use of his own time and that of his boys are either out of contact with any kind of a market, or only in indirect contact with it. This indirect contact is present when the different choices result in contributing to different products which compete on the market. There is even some of this indirect contact when the choice is between more leisure or playtime for the boys and milking a few more cows—the butterfat is valued on the market, and a comparison can be made between the value of what can be done with the additional income and the value of

the extra playtime to the boys. When one comes to the household side of the farm family unit, the contact with the market is still more absent. It is most removed of all in choices relating to size of family, care of family, education, health, etc. Most of the decisions made by communities and other formal and informal group units—such decisions as whether or not to vote funds to pave a street, or establish a public park, or employ a county nurse, or establish a junior high school, or employ higher grade teachers —have only slight or indirect contact with the market. *But all of these decisions represent economic valuations just as surely as if they were made in an open market place and had prices quoted for them daily on the market pages of our journals.*

It is very easy for people who are not working regularly in the field of economics to overlook the foregoing—to become careless in thinking and drift into viewing economics as applying only to things which are bought and sold in the market place. It is the sociologists who have fallen into this habit most often. They are not really to be blamed greatly for this mishap, however. The economists are most responsible for it. Although recognizing that non-commercial goods and activities are as much a matter of economics as are the commercial ones, economists put in most of their time talking about the commercial ones. It is because they have unduly neglected the non-commercial or non-pecuniary aspects of their subject that workers in the assisting social sciences have given attention to them. The workers in these related fields absolutely must have an economic analysis of the non-commercial phases of our existence; if the economists will not provide it, then they must do the best they can to provide it themselves.

TYPES OF VALUATION

In order for us to obtain a sufficient idea of the variety and nature and full content of economic valuations, it will be advisable for us to consider briefly a number of the important types, beginning with the more usual ones:

1. Involving choice between different producers' goods—between

Jersey and Holstein cattle, between horses and a tractor, between winter wheat and rye.

Such choices may be considered from the point of view of the current year's net farm income, of the net income from the farm for as long a period as this operator expects to farm it, of the net income from the farm through several generations; of the maximum satisfaction of the wants of the farm family during the current year, or for the present generation, or for the family during several generations; of the maximum progress of the nation; of the maximum progress of society as distinct from the nation. It would be easy to make a decision that would increase one year's net income at the expense of future incomes, that would increase immediate satisfaction at the expense of more important future satisfactions, that would prejudice the individual farm family's welfare for the sake of national "greatness."

2. Involving a choice between different consumers' goods—between two types of cloth for a dress, between an automobile and a piano for the family, between a durable consumption good like a radio and going to the movies.

Here again there is the same range of possible differences in point of view between very immediate and very long-time, between the business unit, the individual, the family, the community, the nation, and society as distinct from the nation. It would be very easy to make a choice that would be wise from one point of view but not from another. For example, I have no doubt that right now many farm families are making a choice in favor of a new automobile and joy-riding, when a radio outfit that would keep them at home would mean more in the end.

3. Involving a choice between different "productive" uses of one's time and energy—between cutting hay or working in the corn, between making the children's clothing or hiring it done and keeping the house in order, between getting an education or going to work and earning some money.

4. Involving choice between different consumption uses of one's time—between playing bridge and reading novels, between travel and fishing trips.

5. Involving choice between a productive use of one's time such as working as a farm hand or going to school—and a consumption use of one's time, such as loafing, hunting, joy-riding, bridge-playing, etc.

In all these, numbers 3, 4, and 5 as well as the first two, the *personal* and the *family* point of view are as significant as the *business unit* point of view. Economists are to be severely censured for putting too little emphasis upon the first two. They have been writing a "business unit economics" and not a "personal economics" or a "family economics." Hence, as in the case of the non-commercial type of values, the tendency has been for workers in the assisting sciences to do more or less work with them.

Likewise in all of them it is necessary to consider the long-time point of view as well as the immediate point of view and all periods in between. Economists in the last two generations have been given too much to accepting wants at their current valuations and ignoring the more permanent result of satisfying them. If young people want to go joy-riding, and are willing to pay high for it, then it has high value—is the general burden of their argument. This is entirely sound logic—from the immediate point of view. But economics must reach out and consider the value of this use of time and resources a few years later when they get ready to settle down as farmers or migrate to other occupations. Even the family fortune in the next generation or two may want to be considered.

There is a whole list of similar choices and valuations to be made if a voting unit of some kind, such as a village, a city, a township, a county, or a state or nation is involved; or if some sort of a formally organized club or society is involved; or such informal units as communities or the public at large. In nearly all of them there is the same weighing of choices between different producers' goods and different consumers' goods, between different productive and consumptive uses of human time and energy and different natural resources. The conflict between the short-time and long-time point of view becomes particularly obvious in the conservation issue; the conflict between production and consumption uses in the preservation of natural scenery against commercial exploitation.

THE GOAL OF NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

We have now reached a point where we can talk with more safety about the goals or standards of economic efficiency which are named in the title of this article. The goal of economic efficiency is obviously something special for each type of social unit, whether the nation, the individual, the family, the business unit, the club or association, or "society" in some form or other. Let us consider first the nation as a unit.

Needless to state, we get ourselves involved in philosophical difficulties in this part of our discussion. Suppose we set up as our goal of national economic efficiency the utilization of the natural and human resources of the nation in such a way as to secure from them the maximum satisfaction of the wants of the nation. But what are the wants of the nation? Is the nation an end in itself, or merely a means to an end? All sorts of national objectives figure in the public mind—a large population as an end in itself, full development of the country's natural resources, conservation of resources for future generations, a large nation, a powerful nation, self-preservation, a "great nation," self-sufficiency, greatest possible well-being of the population regardless of numbers, etc. The author is going to assume, partly because he must assume something, but more largely because it seems the most reasonable thing to assume, that the greatest possible well-being of the population regardless of numbers, considered over several centuries, is the proper objective of a nation. Assuming an infinite number of years reduces the whole proposition to an absurdity. Any quantity divided by infinity is zero. We shall have to leave all but a little of the infinite future to take care of itself. Exactly how much we should attempt to provide for, we can have no way of knowing. The principal difference between a national objective set up in this fashion and the individual objective of maximum satisfaction of wants is in the period of time taken into purview. Undoubtedly the nation is more interested in the future a few centuries hence, perhaps even a few decades hence, than is the individual. The nation symbolizes the individual point of view expanded to include the larger group and

the longer period of years that the individual himself might include were his personality of sufficient proportions.

The goal of national efficiency, then, is a utilization of the resources of the nation that gives maximum satisfaction of individual human wants over several centuries. This means in effect highest per-capita well-being over several centuries. It is the same as highest per-capita income if income is measured in permanent satisfaction over a sufficient period of time. It is not the same as per-capita money income, nor even per-capita "real" income as that term is commonly defined. These terms do not consider the future along with the present, nor do they include the satisfactions of the non-pecuniary sort, which are surely more than half the total.

The term efficiency may confuse somewhat. I mean output per unit of input. The input in this case is human energy; the output is human satisfaction.

One cannot be sure that *well-being* includes all that one would include as a national objective. Satisfaction is better. It is conceivable that a people might get a vast satisfaction out of belonging to a great nation when they had to make sacrifices of well-being in order to attain this national greatness.

THE GOAL OF PERSONAL AND FAMILY EFFICIENCY

So far as mere definition is concerned, the goal of personal efficiency has already been pretty well defined. It differs from that of national efficiency principally in its scope. Much more emphasis, however, should be put upon the satisfactions associated with mere well-being. A similar statement can be made for the goal of family efficiency. It is to be presumed that most individuals are interested in continuing their stock rather indefinitely, and in the achievement and well-being of their descendants. To the extent that they are, they are only satisfying their own wants when they so manage their resources as to provide for their descendants as well as for themselves. Any use of resources by descendants which is less efficient than would have been their use by preceding generations is inefficiency from a family point of view. Saving up wealth for

children that ought to be used in educating them, is a common example of inefficient family economics.

It is probably possible to make a better case for the family as an end in itself than it is for the nation as an end in itself. It might be said that the family is needed to preserve the race stock; or that it is the "bulwark of our social structure." If either of these were true, then the well-being of the individual in future generations would demand that sacrifices of personal satisfactions be made in the present for the sake of preserving the family.

The economic success of a family ought probably to be measured by its continuing achievements and well-being; and probably by its size somewhat. At any rate, one would say that a given generation of a family which left behind it six highly productive right-living sons and daughters was more successful than one which left only half that number.

When we examine more concretely the things that make for an economically successful family, we recognize that it includes first of all ability to earn a large money income—because after all, money is needed to buy many of the things needed for right living in the modern world; second, a wise use of the non-marketable resources of the family—particularly those of the women and children of the household; third, a wise spending of the income after it is earned. That it includes all three of these is conspicuously apparent in the case of the farm family unit. The business part of the enterprise is surely important to the success of the family; but so is the household part of it, the living obtained from the farm, and the use of the human as well as financial resources of the family in the right sort of education and recreation for the family, and in the right sort of planning for the future of the children.

THE GOAL OF BUSINESS UNIT EFFICIENCY

Several measures have been set up for economic efficiency of the farm business unit, as distinguished from the household and family. One of these is *net farm family income*. It is good as far as it goes—the defect of it is that it does not include things as important in the aggregate as mere money income—for example, satisfaction or

lack of satisfaction in the work, educative value, effect on health. It does not include an adequate measure of the effect on the farm plant itself of the year's operations. Particularly, it involves an ill-conceived attempt to measure the value of the living contributed to the family by the farm. Usually the valuing is done on the basis of what the equivalent of this would sell for on the farm. If one values them on this basis, then one must add that the "cost of living" is less on the farm than in the city because this part of the living is to exactly this extent cheaper in the country—which leaves one exactly where one started.

Sometimes a percentage of the investment is deducted as due to capital so as to get a "net" for the farm family. As used, the method introduces more error than it eliminates.

"Percentage return on investment" is also sometimes figured. This assumes that it is maximum utilization of the farm plant alone that is the objective, which is far wide of the mark.

We might also discuss "labor incomes" as a measure. It would be found more unsatisfactory than the two above mentioned. The writer assumes, however, that it is not the intent of the present volume to concern itself with the business unit as such, nor for that matter with the technique of measuring efficiency.[1]

STATISTICAL MEASUREMENT

It may seem to the reader that the goals and standards that have been set up are not such as units of statistical measurement can be applied to. This is undoubtedly true. But there is no help for it. No more serious error is made in research method in the social sciences than attempting to measure things in statistical units that cannot be measured. Most frequent is the error of attempting to value in dollars things which are not exchanged on the market. The only safe procedure is to measure everything in the unit in which it occurs, and leave unmeasured those which have no known unit.

[1] This subject is discussed by the writer in Chapter XIII of his "Introduction to Production Economics."

APPLICATION TO THE PROBLEM IN HAND

The project of which this paper is a part is largely a study in the relation between the two types of economic values, the pecuniary and non-pecuniary. Such a study is much worth making. The importance of the non-pecuniary type of values is never sufficiently emphasized in studies made by the usual run of economists; and the utilization of noncommercial goods and services that is related thereto is even more seriously neglected.

Before concluding this discussion, it will be well to explain that the economists have no monopoly in the use of the term value. The food chemist uses it in the expression "milling value" to indicate the amount of flour of a given "strength" that can be made from different wheats; the fuel engineer similarly speaks of the different heating "values" in different fuels. It is proper to speak of scenic values, æsthetic values, attention values, and the like. One of the most important other uses of the term relates especially to the field of sociology. It is most simply named "a group value," and refers to the ability of persons or things to contribute to the strength and coherence of the group. If the group in question is a nation, then these abilities may be designated as national values. If the group is society as a whole as distinguished from the nation, then they are designated as "social values." It is very easy to be confused in the use of the term social values. They include all the economic values, pecuniary and non-pecuniary, above described, because these give *strength* to such a society, and in addition a special category of values measured in terms of power merely to contribute to the strength and coherence of society in the large. Thus it can be said of modern means of communication that they have not only made society stronger by making it more efficient in production and in satisfying human wants generally—in the economic type of social values; but they have also made society vastly more coherent and effective in promoting its own ends. The study of institutions, making up so large a part of sociology, is especially concerned with this second category of social values. The extent to which group organizations of various kinds, both formal and informal, contribute

to the satisfaction of human wants, is a matter which should be discussed fully in this symposium.

If there be those who object to the foregoing analysis on the score that life comprises more than the mere satisfaction of human wants, there can be no objection to their broadening the economic objective to include these other things also.

Chapter IV

THE FARMER'S STANDARD OF LIVING

There are many who believe that farmers and their families do not enjoy the same plane of living as those engaged in other occupations. These point out with some degree of confidence that farm families do not have the educational privileges nor the opportunities for self-improvement and entertainment that families living in the cities may command. The movement of the farm families from the country to the cities during the past few years and for certain other periods lends some color to this claim. The discrepancy, if such exists, is attributed by some to lack of income. By others it is attributed to lack of desire for or lack of appreciation of these so-called higher educational values. It is unfortunate that in forty years of agricultural research under the Experiment Station Act so little attention has been given to the problems of the household and the family. As a result of this delinquency there are available but few dependable data bearing upon the way in which farm families live or on the values which they attach to the accomplishments ordinarily interpreted to mean social advancement. There is no common understanding or measurement of the standard of living. The term has been variously defined but no standards have been adopted.

The writers of the following articles are not entirely in agreement as to what constitutes a good standard of living, though all do agree that farmers should enjoy the same standards of life as those afforded other classes of society. They agree also that the standards of living on farms should be no lower than those of other social groups rendering a similar service to

society. Emphasis is given by two of the writers to the advantages of country life as a medium for the development of people. They suggest the possibility that while the farm family may have less cash income with which to buy social advantages they receive advantages from their environment greater than cash values. It is difficult to find a satisfactory measure for some of these advantages or make suitable comparisons between them and advantages enjoyed by people living in cities. One writer emphasizes the necessity of equal opportunity to all and the immediate acceptance of a high standard of living for farmers. This point is worthy of serious consideration. It is difficult indeed to significantly raise a low standard of living. It is much easier to maintain a high one. Farmers may well exert some of the enterprise of skilled labor in demanding and maintaining relatively high standards of income and living for their families.

The conclusion may well be reached that if farmers are to enjoy a high standard of life and the social privileges and advantages of other classes that they must rise to the opportunity and not only demand such high standard but they must organize in such a way as to secure the desired result.—A. B.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY A GOOD LIVING?[1]

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A Standard of Living is the amount of personal and public facilities, conveniences and opportunities which an individual or group regards as essential to provide reasonable satisfaction and happiness in life, and which they are substantially able to acquire and enjoy. It includes both those facilities and opportunities which are held in common in the community, such as schools, churches, roads, etc., and those which are of a personal and family nature, such as the

[1] Written for this report, but first published in the American Agriculturist, April 24, 1925, from which it is reprinted with permission of the editor.

home and household equipment. Moreover, since in farming the home and farm are almost inseparable, and usually operated together as a unit, the farmer's standard of living is also necessarily greatly affected if not actually determined by the extent and nature of the farm business.

What standard of living, what amount of these facilities and conveniences do farmers regard as reasonably satisfactory? Are these standards as high as they should be? Upon the standards that we as farmers are satisfied with much depends, perhaps no less than the alternative of whether the future food supply of America is to be produced by an agricultural peasantry as elsewhere in most of the world, or by up-standing, well-educated, high-grade rural citizens.

There are no doubt, different answers to these questions. My attempt to answer them will be from the view-point of what it seems to me that the standard ought to be as well as what it is now. The problem is a complicated one, involving fundamental desires and outlooks which of course, run back into early environment and previous training, economic conditions and price levels, together with certain factors peculiar to farming. Individual standards of living vary greatly even in the same neighborhood or community, both with previous education which helps to set the standard and with the money available to provide the standards set. Of these, education is by far the most important because a standard of living depends only in part upon money, and an intelligently directed desire may acquire large satisfactions with limited financial resources.

At the outset I would lay down two basic principles which to me are fundamental: (1) Equal opportunity to all. (2) Immediate insistence on higher standards for farmers.

(1) There must be an equal and readily available opportunity for all those better farmers who demonstrate their abilities as producers and their capacities as good citizens, to advance their standard of living as high as bankers, manufacturers and others. Such advancement will of course, be relative and take into consideration real and offsetting values. By this I do not mean that farmers should have city standards, except as the city may be able to con-

tribute worthwhile things to the general standard. Sharp lines of division between city and country are breaking down and standards are tending to be held in common. Sources of income ought not to be and are becoming less and less determining factors.

In this democracy it ought not to be necessary to demand equal opportunity. It is a fact, however, that although our farmers are relatively well educated, equal opportunities and facilities are not available to them either in a public way or privately, chiefly because of lack of capital, earning power and other economic factors. Although entitled to as high farm standards as exist in the world, (e.g. Denmark) and the equivalent of the better urban standards, we farmers find that our standards are actually lower. It costs us as farmers, much more per capita to educate our children and to maintain our churches and in spite of relatively higher taxes, there are many ordinary facilities of life with which we often find it difficult to provide ourselves, e.g., libraries and art galleries or abundant running water in the house and electric power and equipment. Tremendous changes have taken place in the country in recent years which are resulting in rapidly changing standards in the country as well as accelerated movement from country to city. Centralized schools, improved highways and automobiles are chiefly responsible.

(2) It is important for everyone concerned that a high standard of living for farmers be realized at once. Unless such a standard is set and an earnest effort made to realize it, the tendency will be to lower rather than to raise it under the pressure of present adverse economic conditions as they affect farming. Any lowering of standards unless soon checked means a tendency toward a food producing peasantry, and the placing of American agriculture on a plane with that of Southern Europe, China, India, and elsewhere. The food supply of the world always has been and is yet for the most part, produced by farmers with relatively low standards and many American farmers are compelled to compete with this low standard among Italians, Poles, Japanese and Mexicans now living here. Should the tariff wall be lowered sufficiently we would all have to compete with these low standards.

One other angle of the problem is worthy of consideration. In

times past, it has been the custom and habit of farmers to "wait until we can afford" the things that make for higher standards. As a whole we have been slow to take up the use of modern conveniences. We have worked hard long hours, more especially have our fathers and mothers slaved to pay the mortgages on their farms and to accumulate savings only to find when that day arrived that they have lost much of their desire and most of their capacity to enjoy life. Contrast the policy of skilled labor which is comparable to the operating farmer. Labor has set relatively high standards for itself, organized and fought for these standards; a wage to enable them to educate their children and provide their family with comforts and conveniences in addition to mere existence and hours short enough to enable them to enjoy life. As one writer has aptly put it, "While labor has bought more by producing less, the farmer has bought less by producing more."

Under its policy labor has made very marked progress in this generation. Following the old policy which has often been glorified under the name of "thrift", farmers while they have made much progress have only brought their industry to the most critical point in its history, a place where all must choose between agricultural peasantry with low standards and an organized business with regulated production and high standards. I believe that we as farmers are entitled to these minimum essentials in a satisfactory standard of living on farms.

PUBLIC

1. *Education.*—As good school facilities for grade and high school teaching as are available in cities and at reasonable costs (this means liberal state aid); good available library systems; music teaching; and certain manual and home making training facilities.

2. *Transportation.*—Modern improved arterial highways with improved cross and "feeder roads," with suitable and adequate motor transportation, which are even more important to the farm than to the urban population.

3. *Religious Life.*—Modern churches and equipment for religious education for the young, together with a type of preaching and religious leadership which will be stimulating and helpful under

modern conditions. This means larger units and general church aid.

4. *Social Life and Satisfactions.*—Equal opportunities and facilities for family life and purposeful association with people of the community through serviceable social organizations.

5. *Communication.*—Reasonably adequate mail delivery, telephone and telegraph service comparable to urban facilities.

6. *Recreation.*—Reasonably available parks, drives, recreation grounds, and theatres providing a good class of plays, as well as moving pictures.

PERSONAL

7. *Running Water.*—Available in the house in sufficient quantity for reasonable needs with necessary and suitable plumbing.

8. *Electric Power.*—Available and adequate for lighting, pumping water, heating and cooking, operating irons, cleaners, washers and other household equipment which reduce manual labor to a minimum and increase comfort and convenience.

9. *Modern Conveniences.*—Modern housing including hardwood floors, screening, lighting, arrangements for labor saving and convenience, heating, cooking, etc. necessary to make life reasonably easy and comfortable for those who work hard.

10. *Refrigeration.*—Available icing to preserve food in warm weather.

11. *Comforts and Facilities.*—Such as musical instruments, radio, fireplaces, porches, etc.

THE FARM

Because the home and farm household are an essential part of most successful farms, it naturally follows that the farm is vital to the home and the standard of living. It is not to be expected that desirable standards can be maintained on too small a farm, on a poor unproductive farm, or on an under-equipped or poorly financed farm. Even with the larger, more productive and more successful farms, size of business is more or less of a handicap. A good, well equipped, productive farm capable under good management of producing a substantial and dependable income with reasonably good markets and prices is essential to the maintenance of a high standard

of living. With all these facilities and conveniences life on farms will still possess greater handicaps and difficulties than in cities. The city dweller will still have public sewerage, and garbage disposal, gas for cooking, paved streets and sidewalks, street cars, door delivery of food and supplies and many other facilities which the farmer will not have. These will in a means by offset by a more independent life in the open under conditions more conducive to health and family life. The better class of farmers would not exchange country life for city life if they could for they love the open country and their business. But this is no reason why they should not be able to afford all those facilities, conveniences and serviceable institutions which help to bring the largest amount of happiness and satisfaction in this life.

WHAT IS A SATISFACTORY STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE FARMER?

EUGENE DAVENPORT,
Formerly Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois

This is a question propounded by the chairman of the Joint Committee of the Country Life Association and the American Farm Economics Association and I am invited to try to make answer.

First of all I should say that there is no such society as "The Farmer," but that the term covers as wide a range as would be included in any other random third of our population, and there is a corresponding range in what would be called a satisfactory standard of living, were the question put to them.

In that sense there is no satisfactory answer to the question and it is more profitable, I think, to consider what, in the interests of society, ought to be a satisfactory standard of living for those who occupy and manage the bulk of the better lands which, after all and in the long run, belong to the public and to the ages.

Manifestly this land cannot be managed in the best interests of society except by a fairly high grade citizen. Besides that, the open country is the great breeding ground of the nation and neither of the great services of the farmer is any job for a moron.

It would be easy to specify an eight or ten room home with bath

or baths, hot and cold running water, electric lights, telephone, radio and a complete outfit of the latest household equipment in addition to all the modern machinery of production, supplemented by adequate markets, a good high school and a strong church nearby, all made easily accessible by automobile operating over excellent roads. There should be, besides all this, money enough not only to support the outfit, but to take an occasional vacation trip, attend good lectures and entertainments in the nearby city with enough left over to add substantially each year to the savings or investment account.

This would be easy and who shall say it is too much for the hard-working farmer and his family with no little capital invested in the business on which taxes are levied at a rate heavier in proportion to its earning power than upon any other form of investment known to man.

Of course it is not too much and of course no ideal that common sense would set up is too high for any first class and useful member of society.

But, facts are facts. All things are relative and farming is a relatively small business as business goes ranging, as reckoned in the census, from three acres up, an average of around 148 acres with 78 acres improved.

Around this average we can at least make some calculations indicating what might be expected. This average farm, according to the last census, represents an investment of something over $12,000. It supports a family of 4.8 people and carries a mortgage of $621.00.

Of course, a figure obtained as this was by dividing the total mortgage indebtedness by the total number of farms does not imply that the average farm carries a mortgage but the item will serve present purposes as well as any.

One question helps us ahead in our query: What would be the condition of a family in the average town if it had $12,000 invested and was in position to enjoy the fruits of labor of a family of 4.8 people. Such a family would be well-to-do in the average town and so is the farmer on 148 acres of average farm land.

Such a family would probably have a bath room, running water and sewage disposal, indeed, it is almost necessary in town for sanitary reasons even if somebody else pays for the sewage system

by general taxation. So should the family on the 148 acre farm enjoy most modern conveniences, certainly when the mortgage of $621.00 is paid, for that amount would install it and something besides, enough, at least, for a power washing machine and an engine to pump the water into the house on its way to the barns.

The man capable of managing a 148 acre farm even fairly well is considerably above the grade of common laborer and should command good wages were he to go to town. I do not believe it can be shown that the average man and his family, on this average farm of 148 acres can make as much money as the same family could make by working equally hard for wages after investing its $12,000 in some paying enterprise. I say working for wages—because this man's capital is too small to become an enterpriser on his own account except in a small town where he might not enjoy any more advantages than on the farm.

If money is to be the measure of a satisfactory standard of living, I am inclined to think that the average farmer is below the dead line as compared with his industrial brother, at least in times of industrial prosperity.

When hard times come, however, the advantage is with the farmer on the average farm, for no farmer was ever known to be out of a job and no man was ever known to starve when he had his feet upon the land.

As to the man below the average, whether on the farm or elsewhere, I do not believe that society has yet learned how he can secure what thinking men would call a satisfactory standard of living, even in this country of unexampled prosperity. In saying this, however, I would remind the reader that the average man, the world over, has never yet had quite enough to eat.

Coming to men above the average where relatively satisfactory standards of living ought to be possible, I do not believe the ideal first sketched is too high. There are only between three and four million such farmers in the United States. They and their wives carry a heavy burden of labor, capital investment, care of animals and crops and they must possess and exercise a high degree of managerial skill as well as put into the business constant and unremitting care and attention, like a physician standing ready day or

night to meet any emergency. Theirs is no eight hour day with responsibility laid upon "the management." They are the management as well as the laborers.

Besides that, they are the fathers and mothers of the race on which we must depend, more than upon any other class of equal numbers, for, whatever we may attain in the way of industrial progress, it will still be true that the country is *par excellence* the breeding ground of a self governing people. Such a group, above the average of their kind, should expect at the hands of society standards of living that could fairly be characterized by the word comfortable. Such conditions would also breed culture even though they came quite short of elegance.

Withal, I doubt if the farmer, speaking generally, will ever receive the same money recompense that the more successful business men will attain and certainly not the phenomenal success of the captain of industry or of the occasional manufacturer or tradesman. The business is too small for that—too near that average of all things around which everything revolves—and he will have to look in part to satisfactions other than money on the principle that there are things of high value which money will not buy. And when we admit that farming cannot realize the extreme returns that often reward men engaged in Big Business, we also must understand that it is comparatively free from the extreme hazards that accompany all great awards.

WHAT IS A SATISFACTORY STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE FARMER?

W. J. SPILLMAN

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There appears to be no reason why the normal standard of living on the farm should be higher or lower than that of other people rendering a similar service to society. The normal standard of living of the average person will, of course, vary with the state of culture or civilization in the world, and in that particular part of the world where the person lives. It is determined in part by

the relation existing between the population of a country and its natural resources. When vast resources are undergoing development by a population not yet sufficiently large to utilize them fully, the standard of living will naturally be higher, considering the cultural stage of society at the time. After natural resources have been developed to the point that further development will require more input per unit of output than formerly, the standard of living of the average person will naturally fall. Even here, however, account must be taken of the progress of the race at the moment, for as time goes on and research and invention make possible the use of more power per individual, the standard of living may actually rise as compared with former times after the point has been reached where the amount of input per unit of output in industry, including agriculture, has passed the point of diminishing returns.

It is difficult to say what a normal standard of living is. It is easier to define the ideal standard,—that is, sufficient food of good quality to maintain the body in health; sufficient clothing to protect the body against the elements, and of a quality similar to that worn by other members of society having a similar social status; income sufficient to permit saving for old age; proper medical care; reasonable contributions to social institutions, like the church and the various societies; sufficient fuel to protect against the rigors of winter; adequate shelter against the elements, and of a form comparable with that of other members of society of similar standing. In addition to this, the ideal standard involves a choice and quantity of luxuries comparable with those enjoyed by the average member of society, who is rendering service similar to that of the individual concerned.

From the above definition of the ideal standard of living, it is seen that economic and social phases of the standard are so intimately interwoven that their separation is impossible.

The standard of living depends upon the income of the individual, and the stage of social development of the region in which he lives. There has been a time when our ancestors were contented and happy if their stomachs were full of raw meat or raw vegetable products of various kinds, and if they had a few skins of wild animals to protect their bodies against inclement weather. Such a standard was normal

for the time in which they lived. Today the situation is wholly different. Mankind has learned much concerning the forces of nature, and of their application to the production of goods that will satisfy the wants of human beings. In the United States today the average worker makes use of something like five-horse power of energy. This is equivalent to the labor of half a hundred slaves. But these slaves have no consciousness and undergo no suffering. It is largely their labor that makes the difference between the normal standard of living today in the United States, and the normal standard of living of our ancestors during the paleolithic period.

Even with the same economic basis and the same social opportunities, the standards of living of different individuals will vary with their own tastes and their respective abilities in the selection of food, clothing, shelter, and luxuries; in other words, with their social ability and social training.

Given the same income or the same opportunity to make an income that is enjoyed by those engaged in other branches of industry, there appears to be nothing inherent in agriculture as an occupation to determine that the standard of living on the farm should be lower than it is in the city. It is true that some of the conveniences of the home are more difficult to acquire in the country than they are in town. In the city we have elaborate systems of distribution of water, electric current, and gas for heating and lighting. With water piped into the dwelling the matter of adequate plumbing is taken for granted.

In the country the farmer himself must take the initiative in supplying these necessities. In most cases he can obtain an adequate supply of water nearby. But to pipe the water into his house and install adequate plumbing requires a good deal of initiative and often knowledge which the farmer does not have. Nowadays it is possible for the farmer to install a small electric plant quite adequate for lighting his buildings. But gas for cooking is not so easily obtained. Nevertheless, if the farmer's income is sufficient all these desirable things may be provided.

That the normal standard of living is necessarily a relative thing and cannot be static has been brought out already in discussing changes in the standard of living with advances of the cultural state

of a people. A normal standard at one time would be considered a low standard at another time. As research and invention make possible the production of more and more goods per capita, the normal utilization of these goods by the average person naturally increases and the standard of living rises accordingly.

There is one important feature of the standard of living which it is necessary to take into consideration in order to gain a clear comprehension of the problems involved. The elemental wants of mankind are food, clothing, fuel, and shelter. These may be regarded as the absolute necessities. It is a fact that for most of these absolute necessities there is a rather definite limit on the requirements per individual. Increased production of these necessities beyond the actual needs of a population merely means their reduction in price sometime to the serious detriment of those whose business it is to produce them. Overproduction of necessities is easily possible, and in fact has frequently occurred in the history of this country and such a condition is not a desirable one in a society like ours.

The standard of living in the present stage of social development in the United States is determined perhaps more by the utilization of what, when they first became available, are regarded as luxuries. It is in these luxuries that the possibility of greatly increasing the standard of living lies. For most of them there is no saturation point. As the producing power of the individual increases, especially if it is applied to the production of luxuries, his income increases accordingly, and the quantity of luxuries he can consume increases apparently without limit. In comparing the standard of living in the country with that in the city the true comparison is in the relative utilization of luxuries by the two social groups. So long as farmers can enjoy luxuries to the same degree as other members of society who are rendering a service of similar value, the farmer's standard of living is what he has a right to expect it to be.

There are two features of the farmer's standard of living in which he has an advantage over those living in cities. One of them is the quality of food available on the farm. Particularly in the case of fruits and vegetables, the farmer's family can obtain these directly from the orchard and garden in their very best condition—

better than most of them ever are when exposed for sale in the city markets.

The other feature is the farmer's contact with nature. This is not appreciated by everyone, either on the farm or in the city. But to most of us it is a privilege to live in the open surrounded by more or less natural scenery which can be seen without having to go to the top of some tall building to see it. These, however, are counterbalanced quite fully by the isolation of farm life. This is particularly true of the women living on farms. Their work is not varied like that of the men folks, and they do not have the same opportunity for contact with neighbors and with city people with whom the farmer himself has frequent contact.

Where the farmer's income is sufficient to permit it, the use of the telephone, radio, and automobile have very greatly minimized the isolation of farm life and have left the farmer still the opportunity of living in the open, and of providing for his table food of better quality than city people can obtain at any price.

WHERE DOES THE FARMER GET THE STANDARD BY WHICH HE MEASURES HIS LIFE AND LIVING?

CARL C. TAYLOR,
Dean of the Graduate School, North Carolina State College

Farmers Like All Other Persons Measure Life and Conduct By The Standards of the Community Of Which They Are A Part. As civilization advances, planes and levels of living rise. Persons do not question whether this is good or bad. They simply accept the so-called higher levels and consciously or unconsciously strive to find satisfaction and comfort on each higher level of living. Furthermore, they all have standards by which to measure their habits of and opportunities for the consumption of goods and time. These standards are the modes and habits of the lives of others whom they know or about whom they know. By these standards they measure the adequacy of living.

Among the essentials to life, in order that it may measure up to desired standards, are necessities, comforts and even luxuries. All of these tacitly accepted desirable things are relative to the stand-

ards of the age in which people live, the communities where they reside, and their knowledge of how other people, particularly those of their own community are living. Other persons are enjoying certain satisfactions. The opportunity to enjoy these same satisfactions becomes the standard by which the farmer measures the adequacy of his living conditions. So-called necessities may be either those things which are essential for mere physical health and continued existence or may be "conventional necessities," such as modes of dress and modes of conveyance which are habitually employed by some other group which has recognized social status. Comforts are not only those things which drive away or keep away physical pain and discomfiture but also those things which give social and psychical complacency. Luxuries are relative to one another and relative to conventional necessities and psychic comforts.

A standard of living consists of those material things, those uses of time and those satisfactions which are a part of the habits of enough people to constitute planes or modes of living. Every standard of living thus includes necessities, comforts and luxuries—those things which persons enjoy and are unhappy without. The desires for these things are very real and all who have these desires strive to satisfy them. Furthermore, they measure their successes in life, to a large degree in terms of their ability to satisfy these desires. The only way to keep the farmer from using this set of desires as a measure of the life he deserves is to keep other people from enjoying them in his presence.

Farmer's Standard Of Living May Be Measured In Either Subjective Or Objective Terms. This is true because it is both a subjective or objective fact. As a subjective fact it consists of his set of consistent desires and is measured in terms of his capacity to satisfy the desires. These desires arise chiefly from two sources; from his organic needs—demanding food, clothing, housing, health and release from fatigue and monotony—and from his social environment—demanding education, religion, recreation, social contacts and social status. As an objective fact the standard of living consists of criteria of physical and social efficiency and is measured in terms of both physical needs and psychic or social desires. In either case the measure of the farmer's standard of living must

always be in relative terms. It is high or low according to whether it compares favorably with others in their opportunities and capacities to spend their time and money in the pursuit of things and activities which bring pleasure and prestige.

What the Farmer Must Have to Make His Standard of Living Satisfactory

What The Farmer Must Have To Make His Standard Of Living Satisfactory Cannot Be Stated In Absolute Terms. This is true for two reasons. In the first place, we do not know enough about the requisities of physical or biological efficiency to state just what his food, clothing and housing needs are. In the second place, there is no way of predicting just what his social or psychic desires may demand. Nevertheless the farmer does always measure the adequacy and satisfactions of his life and living in terms of physical and social standards. These standards are usually, if not always, those standards which are current in his social environment.

The Farmer's Standard Of Living Ought To Measure Up To The Best We Do Know About Proper Conditions For Physical Efficiency. All that is known about correct housing standards, correct food standards, adequate health facilities, the damages from fatigue, and similar physical and physiological criteria, should be used in measuring the rural standard of living. The fact that the farmer, in many instances, is ignorant about these standards and thus satisfied with a mode of life that does not measure up to them is no excuse for permitting them to be absent from his life. His task in society is important and it is therefore important that the conditions of his life be such as to make him adequate for his task. Every criterion or scientific standard of physicial efficiency known should be applied to him as well as to his livestock and crops.

The Farmer's Standard Of Living Ought To Measure Up to That Of Other Segments Of Our Population. It may be that city people have no right to set the standard of living for country people, but they do. Certain it is that the existence of a comparatively high standard of living among city people stimulates a desire for such a standard on the part of country people. And since all standards

of living are and must be measured in terms of human satisfactions, these imparted city desires must be satisfied even in country people. The only legitimate grounds upon which such satisfactions can properly be denied to country people is when they lead to recognized evil, degradation or degeneracy. The townsman and countryman, by apt means of transportation and communication, are now a part of one community. Unless it is believed that the farmer is of less economic and civic importance than others his standard of living ought to measure up to theirs.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A STANDARD OF LIVING

A Standard Of Living Is Composed Of Those Things Which Give Satisfaction Or Enjoyment To Those Participating In It. Similarly it is likely to give discontent and unhappiness to those who observe it being enjoyed by others but not available to themselves. Farm people have been criticised for wanting to use goods which are a part of the habits of consumption of the higher income families of city life. This is but natural now that they come constantly in contact with city people and observe city modes of life. It is only by the urge obtained by such observations or through conscious education that all standards of living have been raised. The comforts of one class may not at one time be even the luxuries of another, but constant contact of the two classes will either demand a levelling up or cause the handicapped and restricted class to rebel in one way or another. Sooner or later the luxuries of all classes who live in contact with one another must approach equality, or discontent will be perpetual. Rural people are now a part of the larger community and so will continue to strive for the larger community's standard of living.

But even though the standard of living always tends to rise, pulled by those at the top who live more sumptuously, it rises comparatively slowly. It is a composite of life's consumption habits and has tremendous inertia. This is why rural people, in the mountains and other isolated places are sometimes called our "contemporaneous ancestors." They are only slightly influenced by contacts with the outside world and so tend to perpetuate their old levels of life. The psychology of protest among farmers, while steadily increas-

ing, is slight when compared to that of the handicapped classes of the city who live daily face to face with luxury standards of living.

The recession from a standard of living once attained is as slow as the rise to a new standard of living. Once a level of consumption and satisfaction is attained, it quickly becomes custom bound. This is partly the explanation of farmer protests following even comparatively brief high price levels. During these periods of prosperity, they taste the new satisfactions and refuse to relinquish them when the depression follows. Farms are mortgaged, the drift to cities is augmented, and all kinds of farmer protest organizations arise in an attempt to maintain the standards of living which they have newly established. Farmers may be wholly unconscious of the psychological facts which operate in their standard of living, but these facts are always there and no amount of ignorance concerning them nor any preaching about them will renounce them. They will always tend to urge the standards up when in contact with other people of higher standards and to keep them on accustomed levels once these levels are attained.

Men do not farm just to see how much pork they can produce in one hog. Neither do they farm merely "to make two blades of grass grow where one previously grew," though both of these are laudable undertakings. They are, however, only means to an end. The end and real purpose of the farmer is to obtain, by means of his farm enterprise and out of the advantages of country life, an adequate and satisfying life for himself, his family and his community. This adequacy and these satisfactions are measured by his standard of living.

There are satisfactions and dissatisfactions which arise out of farm work and country dwellings. These are not measurable and so cannot be made a basis of comparison. There are farmers who consciously prefer to accept a measurably lower standard of living in order to remain in the country and to follow the occupation which they prefer to all others. It is highly questionable, however, whether these values offset those which are measured in terms of the standard and status of others and in terms of power to purchase, in the market of the world, those things which give others not only satisfaction but also give them prestige.

Chapter V

LIVING STANDARDS AND FARM INCOMES

In this chapter Dr. Taylor gives us his conclusion, based on the mature study of many years, as to the method of agricultural progress. In brief he holds that better farm incomes will come as a result of a general adoption of higher standards of living. A better income does not necessarily produce a better standard of living, but may be lost to the farmer through a higher cost for land. Better living should be the "basic reason for better farming and better business". This higher standard of living involves better social institutions for the community as well as a better life for the family. He implies the same doctrine of economic efficiency as described in Chapter III, but he goes farther in showing how increasing the wants of the farmer so that there is a general desire for a higher standard of life, is the best stimulus for greater economic efficiency. This analysis seems to warrant the conclusion that rural progress involves the interdependence of the social and the economic factors and is a product of their interaction.—D. S.

Living Standards and Farm Incomes

Henry C. Taylor,

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It is my purpose to show that the development of ways and means of improving the standard of living in farm homes and in rural communities is an essential part of any program which looks to the

securing for farmers a fair share in the national income, which in the long run is essential to an efficient agriculture as the basis of a permanent national life.

"Better farming, better business and better living" is the slogan used by Sir Horace Plunket in the campaign for the improvement of agricultural conditions in Ireland toward the close of the last century. According to Plunket a well-rounded program for agriculture involved all three of the proposals covered in this slogan. Better farming or greater efficiency in production without better business in buying and selling may reduce the farmers' profits, and better farming and better business in buying and selling may reduce the farmers' profits, and better farming and better business without better living as a consequence, means failure to realize the benefits resulting from the effort.

In the corn belt better farming is well understood. Efficiency in the production of corn and livestock has been greatly improved, but the business side and the life side of the program have not been so well taken care of. We need to turn this slogan around and give new emphasis to better living. Better living is the end in view in better farming and better business. There are those who look upon the farm as the granary of the city. They want cheap food and raw materials and too rarely think of the welfare of the farmer. The farmer has no objection to cheap food and raw material if he is able to exchange his products for as many of the good things of life as the rank and file of city consumers enjoy.

With the founding of the agricultural colleges the work for better farming began. No one seriously objects to better farming, but ten or fifteen years ago it became clear to agricultural leaders that better farming alone, the growing of two blades of grass where one grew before, failed to benefit the farmers unless the two blades could be marketed for something more than the one. In fact the feeling expressed in various forms implied that while better farming benefited city consumers by providing an abundant supply of food and raw material at low prices, these low prices left the farmers without profits.

This led to the movement for better marketing. Secretary of Agriculture Houston spoke of marketing as "the other half of

agriculture" and started the Bureau of Markets in 1913, which is now an integral part of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Some of the leading colleges of agriculture started research work in marketing, and were giving courses and extension lectures on the ways and means of improving our marketing system. Real progress had been made when in 1925 Congress passed the Purnell Act which for the first time provides specifically that federal funds granted to the experiment stations may be used for the study of economic and social problems relating to agriculture. Thus the work on "better business" is well under way. Study of the subject of better living is not as far advanced, but funds are now available for making a beginning.

The objective of better farming and better farm business is better living for farmers and their families as well as a supply of food and raw materials for the nation. Unfortunately better living has not always followed better farming and better business. There are two theories regarding the way to improve the standard of living for farmers. The one is, give farmers better incomes and they will get the better living, the other theory is, let farmers as a class demand a better living and refuse to farm without it and the reduction of competition will reduce costs, improve prices and provide the means of securing the better living.

Whether better income will be built into better living standards depends upon the way the income is used. Farmers have been most unmerciful competitors of each other. When they get a little increase in income it is too likely to go immediately into increased demand for land, labor, and equipment for the purpose of expanding production which tends to decrease prices. There is no reason to believe that in the long run farmers will benefit any more from better business methods, from orderly production and better marketing than from more efficient methods of production unless they learn the other great lesson, namely, that *in the long run any class of producers gets only what it consumes.*

If farmers as a class would not farm or encourage their sons to farm unless they can secure prices which will enable them to have as many of the comforts and conveniences of life as their city cousins, then the supply of farm products would be small

enough to command prices which would provide the desired standard of living, and yet with modern efficient methods in production and marketing prices of farm products need not be excessive in order to attain this end.

The thrift which was necessary in pioneer days is excessive under present conditions of production. This same degree of thrift induced even today when the farmer is operating under a heavy debt, has done much to hold down living standards for farmers. Add to this the effects of periodical depressions, such as that of the middle nineties and the one we are still struggling through, and you have the conditions which make for peasantry.

A higher standard of living being the goal, how can it be attained? Obviously not without the funds. Better farming, better business and a square deal for agriculture in the distribution of the national income are the foundations on which better living standards can be built. But unless the increased profits from these sources are used at once in the building of higher living standards they will be diffused into higher land values and lower prices for farm products and cease to be available for better living.

In many parts of the corn belt real progress has been made in building higher living standards. The farm bureau has been a force in bringing this to pass. Making out a family budget has come to be looked upon with favor. This laying out of the needs of the family for food, clothing, fuel, literature, and education brings the real objective of everyday work into the foreground. In some states the idea of setting up goals has become common. True, setting up goals is not a new idea for farmers. Too long the acquiring of another 40 here and 80 there has been the goal, whether the land was needed or not. But the goals I refer to now have to do with the building of a higher standard of living. After the year's budget has been made up including all the things for which funds will probably be available, there always remain many comforts which the family will have to do without for the present. These things should not be forgotten but be set up as goals. Some of the goals which have been set up on many farms are heating and water systems or a lighting system, though in some instances the goals are less ambitious. Many a good wife looks

ahead longingly to the time when she can have a first-class cook stove or an oil stove for summer use. Others look ahead to having better kitchen utensils. This setting up of goals is an effective means of building higher standard of living.

The automobile is rarely the goal on corn belt farms today. This is a part of the established standard. On various occasions I have asked whether the automobile was not an unwarranted luxury for a farmer in these hard times. The universal reply has been, "No, the automobile is a necessity for the farmer." When farmers generally insist on those elements of a modern standard of living which electricity can bring to a farm and will not farm without them, just as today they insist on owning an automobile and will not farm without it, the prices of farm products will tend to be sufficient to support that standard. The standard of living is the basis of competition among farmers. The more that farmers will do without, above mere subsistence, in order to compete for land and compete in the market with their products, the more cruel and gruelling this competition becomes and in the long run the lower will be the returns to farmers for their efforts.

Shorter hours of strenuous labor on the farm is a goal to be striven for. The use of more time in producing things for the consumption of the family and in providing pleasant surroundings in which to live is a means of adding to the standard of living without additional cash income. Moreover, this withdrawal of labor from the production of cash products would tend to reduce the intensity of competition among farmers and improve the market prices of the products sold.

The ways and means of improving the standard of living of farmers is a subject to which farmers may well give full attention. In the long run an effective program along this line will do more to increase the farmers' share of the national income than anything else. I wish to emphasize again that unless each gain made in farm income through better farming and better business is used in building the higher standard of living on the farm and in the rural community, these gains will be diffused into higher land values and lower prices and cease to be available for the use of farmers for living purposes.

Let us make better living on the farm the basic reason for better farming and better business. This is essential not only to the welfare of the farmer, but also to the national welfare. For if the crop of surplus population which is sent to the cities does not retain its quality, agriculture and the agricultural population will cease to be the firm foundation of a sound national life.

Building better living standards is not an immediate remedy for the farmers' present ills. Only in so far as the demand for the higher standard of living becomes effective by reducing competition can it become an effective remedy. This means that some farmers should change to other occupations, but although those in other industries are receiving higher pay for their services than farmers, it does not follow that every farmer could improve his income by seeking city employment. The movement from country to city is going on. The agricultural population is shrinking, but the process is slow. In 1922, two million men, women, and children left farms for cities, towns and villages. In 1924, two million seventy-five thousand made this move. But the back movement is large and increasing. The back movement was 880,000 in 1922, and 1,396,000 in 1924. A large proportion of those who attempt to get out of agriculture into other occupations are unable to find remunerative occupations in the city. This is partly due to the fact that a man may be highly skilled in farming and be without skill in other occupations. On the other hand many farmers are skilled in city industries, but the labor organizations do nothing to help them secure satisfactory positions.

Through the movement of population from one occupation to another we can not hope to find an early relief from the unsatisfactory relations between the prices of farm products and of city products. But while the movement will be slow in making itself felt in price ratios, in the long run it will bring results. Many good farmers feel the strain of the present depression but realize that they can not possibly improve their situation by moving to the city. They are, however, encouraging their sons and daughters to secure an education and seek another occupation. There are more farm boys looking toward other occupations now than ever

before. Thus while the process of occupational adjustment is slow, it is in action.

The danger lies in the withdrawal from the farm of the best elements of the population to the ultimate detriment of agriculture and the nation. The whole subject of population movement should be studied from the standpoint of ways and means of providing for an adequate flow to keep a right balance between farm and city population and at the same time maintain the quality of the rural population.

Many of the elements of a higher standard of living must come through community effort and public expenditures. Better schools and better hospitals cost money. Better roads cost money. These must be paid for out of the taxes. High taxes are objectionable when money is scarce. They are particularly hard to pay just now. But before making too vigorous an attack on the local taxes, call to mind that better schools, better hospitals and better roads are a part of the farmers' standard of living. The less he demands the less he will get in the long run. Of course, all these expenditures must be paid for out of the income from the farms but the prices of farm products are determined in the long run by what the farmers as a class insist on having if they continue to farm. Furthermore, a good rural school system develops a versatile rural population which is better able to adjust itself through a flow to the city when prices are going against the farmers.

Economy in public expenditure is correct. Making each dollar of the tax money yield a maximum is true economy. Spending too little is parsimony. Parsimony reduces the possibilities of life and always has a blighting effect.

A program for the building and maintaining of higher living standards on farms is not a simple one. First, the educational work which will show farmers the relation of living standard to incomes will require considerable time. Second, the development of concerted action in insisting on high standards is more difficult in the country than in the city. Third, the successful carrying out of this program involves rapid shifts of population out of agriculture into other industries when farm incomes will not maintain

the standards. Fourth, the development of this program requires a national statesmanship which will develop institutions which will stabilize the purchasing power of the dollar as one means of avoiding agricultural depressions which demoralize living standards, develop tariff policies that do not discriminate against agriculture, and develop institutions for overcoming in a measure at least the demoralizing effects of variation in crop yields upon farm income and the well being of the farmers.

The educational phase of this program is under way. Let us hope that the other phase may find a new impulse through new leadership.

Chapter VI

THE COMPETITION OF LOWER STANDARDS OF LIVING

It has frequently been held that farmers with a better standard of living are unable to compete with foreign immigrants and those who because of relative poverty have lower standards, who use more family labor, who will work harder for smaller profits and who can therefore pay more for land. If it be true that a lower standard of living can thus drive out a higher standard as cheap money drives out good money, it constitutes a force opposing rural progress which must be taken into account. The question is to what extent and under what circumstances, if at all, does this principle obtain?

In the following three articles we are given an excellent analysis of the various factors affecting this question in different parts of our country with varying conditions. The writers seem to agree that where an increasing population makes intensive cultivation profitable, and where the crops grown are largely dependent on hand labor, that it is possible for small holdings to be intensively operated by those with lower standards of living who will tend to force out those with higher standards; but that this does not apply to areas characterized by extensive farming with a large use of machinery. With unrestricted immigration there would be a real danger from this source, but with the present restriction of immigration there seems to be no cause for alarm, although we may look with apprehension on the utilization of any cheap agricultural labor such as that of Mexicans in the sugar beet industry. If, as Professor Mears concludes, "po-

litical acts have thwarted the natural operation of economic laws", then it would seem to behoove the American farmer to see that in the future these "political acts" be maintained and modified to meet the needs of the national welfare rather than to allow the "natural operation of economic laws.". —D. S.

LOW STANDARDS AND PRODUCTIVENESS

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Productiveness in agriculture still depends to a large degree on sheer physical exertion, human toil. Certain types of agriculture like cotton and tobacco raising, truck farming, market gardening, sugar beet culture, fruit growing, and to a less extent, perhaps, dairying and stock raising require large amounts of manual labor. Moreover, very many agricultural tasks can be and are performed very well by unskilled laborers and by women and children. Since most agricultural products are raised on one-family farms, the successful farmer is often the one who can command a large amount of human labor within his own household. The truck farmer with a large working family willing to put in long days in the field has a real advantage over his neighbor who must employ hired men and pay them cash wages usually for a shorter day. It has been said with some degree of truth that successful farming rests on the unpaid labor of women and children.

In many types of farming the investment aside from real estate is comparatively small. Tenancy attracts many farm operators who otherwise would not be engaged in farming at all. The tenant has no expense of upkeep of land or buildings. With some notable exceptions he spends little or no time improving the farmstead or making it attractive. Rented farms left to the care of tenants are almost certain to "run down" in buildings, fences, ditches, lawns, roadsides and shrubbery, if not in soil, for the period of tenure is short and the tenant cannot afford the necessary time and money to keep up a place he does not own.

A large percentage of farms operated by owners yield returns too small for the enjoyment of a standard of living beyond the physical necessities. Simple and abundant food, much of it provided by the farm, frequently coarse and lacking in variety; cheap clothing, sufficient for warmth and protection if not for adornment, but little beyond necessity; housing for shelter, not beauty or convenience; very little outlay for education, books, recreation, insurance, social activities or other non-essentials of physical existence except those imposed on the entire community,—many operating farmers the world over have no more than this, many indeed have less. The demonstrated fact that so many farmers have been for generations sufficiently content with these standards to remain farmers and to produce all we could use and more, is the best possible evidence that no higher standards were really demanded, or indeed could have been maintained under the circumstances.

No adequate definition of standard of life has been formulated. Much less has any definite, tangible, numerical measure of living standards, high or low, been set up. High standards are likely to be confused with dear standards, and what to many is called a low or cheap standard, may really be an efficient, economical or rational standard. Leisure for reading, rest, recreation and mental improvement for the whole family is one of the generally accepted components of a high standard. An attractive, well furnished, conveniently arranged house, set in attractive surroundings, well kept grounds, lawns with trees, flowers, and shrubbery are others. Much outdoor work by white women and children is in rural America, at least, an evidence of a standard below normal. High school and college education for the children over 14 is not an unreasonable ideal which an increasing number of American families are making attainable.

In many types of agriculture these desirable norms of farm living may be uneconomical and for a long period, at least, quite unproductive. Provided they are the common standards of a group producing a desirable commodity for a given market, or provided certain farmers individually or collectively have some economic advantage over their competitors these standards may be maintained. Indeed a prime requisite in securing adequate returns

to maintain a high standard of living is to have a high standard to maintain. Common standards, whether rational or not, held firmly by the agricultural group, can be supported, provided new members with lower standards are not admitted to the group.

But entrance to agriculture is not restricted, although the promise of future rewards in increased land values no longer holds the lure or induces the sacrifice of standards which free land did for generations.

Many immigrant farmers in certain forms of agriculture do not find short hours, leisure for recreation, large houses, or mental improvement necessary to a comfortable existence. The women are willing to work in the fields and find it healthful. So far as volume of production is concerned brawn is more essential than superior mentality. Group action in marketing enables them to hire expert distributors to create values equal to or greater than those obtained by the brainier individual competitor. Such farmers can and do drive out the native American farmers who must spend a great deal of time and money to maintain a higher, but less economical standard. Once the original owners have been forced out and the land paid for the invaders begin to acquire less immediately productive and more enjoyable habits, desires and possessions.

Facile means of communication, contact with urban population, the democracy of free schools, the allurements of advertisements and mail-order house catalogues, the suggestions offered by the ubiquitous moving pictures, the tireless efforts of the county demonstration agents, the prodding of the immigrant press, the solicitations of agents, combine to exert pressure to raise the cost if not the standards of living rather rapidly and far beyond the necessary requirements of efficiency and economy of production, especially in the hand labor types of agriculture.

The rapidity with which the level of the standard of life rises in a given agricultural community depends partly on the stimuli which in turn depend on the character of the people and on their location, and in part on their ability to support the increasing number of wants. In sections where there is an excess of urban population, urban standards exert a powerful influence, and opportunities for swelling the family income by earnings from urban employ-

ment are of significant assistance. In strictly rural sections the inducements to change are fewer and less compelling and the uncertainties of the net cash income from agriculture alone often delays indefinitely the gratification of higher wants. Better means of communication, and the growth of collective endeavor are slowly dimming these distinctions between agricultural sections.

Under a policy of unrestricted movements of people an invasion of a stable agricultural community, by workers with lower standards, has always impended.

In unskilled industries these invasions were spectacular and disastrous until labor made a collective stand to offset their effects.

In agriculture the outstanding inducement was free land; the invading farmers were for the most part people capable of rising to and supporting high standards; the burden of low standards was lightened by the sense of independence, the ownership of landed property, the increasing value of land, the certaintly of at least a simple livelihood, the undying hope that the present sacrifices were but for the moment; the tremendous growth in population and wealth of the whole country with the consequent necessary changes in agriculture, and the optional opportunities offered, combined to make agriculture desirable by rapidly heaping up agricultural wealth in real property, and at the same time offering an outlet for the surplus farm population. Under these conditions present material comforts were sacrificed for speculation in land.

The passing of free land and the rise of commercial agriculture has somewhat dimmed the lure of the land. For the future the dangers lie chiefly in the importation of cheap laborers who are profitable in capitalistic enterprises like sugar beet growing, or on cranberry bogs, or shade-grown tobacco plantations where gang labor can be used. In most cases cheap labor of this sort competes directly or indirectly with higher grade labor or with the labor of independent farmers or their families.

A tenant system such as that which prevails in many parts of the south, which merely gives a fictitious dignity to a lot of low grade, unskilled farm laborers, is a deterrent to the building up of a stable rural citizenry of high standards. In general our failure to provide

for a rational form of tenancy in America is responsible for low standard farmers in the Middle West, as well as in the South.

Anything that tends to discourage or restrict the entrance into farming of low grade laborers or operators encourages higher standards of rural life. Whatever strengthens the competitive power of the man of intelligence and high ideals of life, will lessen the chances of agricultural invasion by the low grade multitude.

Whatever makes a high degree of skill, managerial ability, commercial acumen or scientific knowledge a prerequisite of successful farming lessens the opportunity of unskilled low standard operators. The technical skill and money necessary to employ power machinery profitably has placed a high grade of men, both operators and laborers, on "machine worked" farms. High grade stock farmers and an increasing number of dairy farmers are above the competition from uneducated low standard farmers for similar reasons.

A lease system dependent on a higher grade of tenants, and opportunity for land ownership, made available to farmers of ability, will do something to prevent agricultural operation by men who have not the ability to acquire agricultural capital, and on the other hand will not discourage prospective farmers who find the problem of acquiring the capital necessary for farm ownership insurmountable. Perhaps greater emphasis upon the social prestige accompanying the ownership of land will serve to discourage farmers who have not the ability to obtain the necessary capital for farm ownership and operation. At any rate it is certain that improvements in our system of tenancy which will place greater responsibility on the tenant, and sift out the undesirables will greatly simplify the competitive conditions, and certainly raise the standard of agricultural proprietorship.

But the battle of standards is eternal. The combatants change, the level of the field may shift, but the issue is essentially the same, and the final result is inevitable. The efficient economical standard struggles with the costly standard, high or low, and wins. As long as human labor is an asset in agriculture, the large working family, other things being equal, will be more productive than the smaller or more indolent family.

We may shut out the immigrants from Europe, but the immigration by way of the stork is not yet banned. A high birth rate

may be as powerful in setting up a new agricultural population as an immigrant invasion.

WILL A LOW STANDARD OF LIVING RESULT IN MORE PRODUCTION AND FORCE OUT THOSE WITH HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIFE?

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Just what constitutes a low standard of living? This must be called into consideration before the relation of a low standard to production can be examined.

The habits of life among country workers differ nearly as widely from area to area as do those among almost any other group of producers. There is nearly as great a gap between the life of the itinerant laborer of the New Jersey truck farm, with his wife and flock of children out from the city for the season, and that of the Iowa farmer tilling broad and productive acres with the most modern of farm machinery, as there is between the sweat shop worker of lower New York and the comfortable and self-satisfied manufacturer who neatly divides his time between the office, the golf course, and the social club. And how varied are the habits of farm life! Colored cotton tenant with his one mule and single plow, living on "salt back" and corn pones, cotton to plant and cultivate and pick, then nothing to do till next year; the dairy farmer of the Atlantic coast, faced with a never-ending round of duties, but with time to stop and gossip even at the height of harvest time, and with a life and a diet both full and varied, with something new for almost every day in the year; hog and beef producer of the corn belt, slave to his plow, drill, and cultivator till the corn is "laid by", and rushed for a spell at harvest, but the rest of the year pretty leisurely watching his livestock turn corn and roughage into good sound meat; wheat farmer of the Great Plains, apple producer of the Northwest, orange grower or raisin producer, each with the one period of the year of throbbing effort, with long stretches in between with nothing special to

be done; and poultryman or butter-fat producer or sheepman or cattle rancher, with a steady round of daily duties through the year, with fewer lulls and fewer periods of intensity. And for each of these types and the many others left unmentioned, different habits of life have been developed in the diverse regions and communities. Each has its own pleasures and its own pains; who is to say which standard is the higher and which the lower?

And these differences due to the type of farming are shot through and intermingled with other differences due to the varying races and social customs of the different groups settling the community. Pennsylvania Dutch or Minnesota Swede, New York Yankee or Connecticut Valley Pole, Chester County Quaker or Georgia "cracker", each group has its own standards evolved out of tradition, custom, and environment. The "standard of living" on farms is not a uniform picture, but a highly variegated mosaic.

But certain elemental differences in standards of life may be considered, regardless of the more intangible elements which make for a socially and intellectually satisfactory life. Food, varied enough to include the essential nutritional elements, and in ample quantity; clothes, not only for warmth and covering, but to "hold up the head" in the community; decent and comfortable housing; modern conveniences of light, heat, water supply, and plumbing; time for recreation, education, and social contacts; and finally, enough of a surplus income to provide for education, recreation, reading matter, medical attention and lay something aside for a reserve. This would seem to be the minimum that should be necessary to make farming yield a satisfactory life on the material side.

How do those who are habituated to lower standards effect production? That seems to be dependent on whether the difference in standards affects the kind of work they do rather than on the standards as such. Standards may be low either qualitatively or quantitatively; there are as great differences in the discrimination with which individuals expend their incomes as there are in the incomes themselves. Only quantitatively low standards enter the present question—low standards on large incomes do not make the workers willing to accept low wages. But when quantitatively

low standards are associated with very low wages, human labor is employed for operations which otherwise would be performed by machinery or not done at all. Thus the most intensive types of agriculture now conducted in this country—market gardening, much truck crop production, sugar-beet production, and cotton raising—depend to a considerable extent upon the employment of South European, Mexican, Asiatic, or colored laborers who live on a low physical standard and work for low wages. But while the employment of such laborers results in greater production per acre, it generally results in lower production per person employed, and is therefore counter to the general trend of the development of American agriculture.

In areas where the type of farming is changing, as in the Connecticut Valley where on some soils tobacco production is displacing the old New England mixed farming, intensive farming on a low standard of living seems able to displace extensive farming on a somewhat higher standard of living. But where the high standard of living is coupled with effective direction of modern equipment, as where a single man may handle hundreds of acres of wheat land, even a low standard does not enable the hard worker to displace the more efficient large-scale worker with a higher standard. And so great is the upward pressure of the American environment on living standards that there seems little likelihood of the low standard of immigrants being perpetuated in their descendants. Low standards are partly due to low incomes; and low incomes are partly due to low standards; education both in the technique of production and in the standards of consumption is needed to help correct the situation.

There are, however, low standards among native American farmers which are of possibly more serious import. Thus in the production of dairy products, considerable use of child labor is quite common. While a certain amount of "choring" no doubt is beneficial to growing boys, there are many cases where labor of this kind is allowed to encroach unduly on time which should better be spent in school or study. Development of a higher standard in this regard is partly a social problem and partly an economic one. Greater use of mechanical equipment is helping many men

to cut down on the labor used in milk production, while a growing appreciation of the economic and social value of more schooling—as well as the provision of better school facilities—is tending to make many farmers attach a greater value to the time their growing children spend in school or study.

In the South the problem of attaining higher standards is similarly inextricably bound up with the problem of greater economic efficiency. Here the problem is not merely one of progress in technological knowledge and machine technique, but one of education of the negro so that he will think it worth while to work more consistently so that he can live better. So long as in many areas a higher price for cotton simply results in more cotton being left unpicked to go to waste [1] efforts toward more efficient production are for such areas, largely wasted. For much of the colored population, education in how to consume seems just as necessary as education in how to produce.

In conclusion it would appear that the standard of living among farm workers affects production only to the extent that it affects their willingness to keep on producing at a low return or to work for low wages. At the same time, a high standard, giving better health, education, and training, may enable those of higher standards to utilize modern methods and machinery and so to compete successfully with cheaper workers at lower standards. In areas where the increasing population makes a more intensive agriculture feasible, however, cheap workers on a low standard seem able to drive out those with higher standards. Adaptation of modern machinery methods to these intensive types may, however, enable those of higher standards to maintain themselves in the face of the competition from cheaper—but less-skilled—workers. At the same time the upward pressure of environment and education is so great that it does not seem likely that the areas of low standards due to immigration will endure for long—especially with further supplies of such foreign workers largely cut off by restrictive immigration laws. More serious are the low standards

[1] When prices are high it takes less cotton to pay off their debts and buy a "Fo'd" for the winter, and then many tenants proceed to enjoy themselves while the remainder of the cotton goes to waste in the fields.

prevailing over wide farming areas, due to racial, economic, and social factors. Education, coöperation and conscious social leadership promise to gradually ameliorate or remove such unsatisfactory conditions, though like all processes of social change, only a slow and almost imperceptible development can be expected.

WILL A LOW STANDARD OF LIVING RESULT IN MORE PRODUCTION AND FORCE OUT THOSE WITH A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING?

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Any discussion of this subject is confused and complicated by the recognized difficulty of arriving at a mutually satisfactory definition of what we mean by "the standard of living." To Professor Carver, however, we are indebted for the following clear statements: "Technically the term 'standard of living' means the number of desires which, in the average person of the class in question, takes precedence over that group of desires which result in the multiplication of numbers. . . . Economists have generally classified standards of living on the basis of their cost of expense. A high standard of living has meant merely an expensive standard; a low standard of living has meant merely a cheap standard. . . . A rise in the standard of living means an increase in the number of things which the average man or woman thinks necessary to the support of the family." [1]

In my treatment of the subject, which is applied to the Chinese and Japanese of California, I conceive the query to be in the field of population economics in which the two prime factors to consider are quantity production and money upkeep in determining or influencing occupational trend between widely different peoples.

The Oriental experience in California presents a particularly clear-cut and valuable case study because of the marked racial contrasts within a great agricultural commonwealth, admitted to the

[1] *Principles of National Economy*, Ginn, 1921, pp. 499, 572, 763.

Union less than eight decades ago. The short span of years makes a nearly complete story.

The Chinese comprised ten per cent of the total population of California in 1850, 1860 and 1870, and fifteen per cent in 1880. The Exclusion Act of 1882 stopped this immigration at the source. The Chinese were supplanted by the Japanese who numbered in America, excluding Hawaii, 148 in 1880, 24,326 in 1900, and 110,010 in 1920. In 1880, nearly three quarters of the Chinese officially enumerated were residents of California; in 1920, the figure had dropped to less than one-half. From 1910 to 1920, the percentage of Japanese within the Golden State increased from 57 per cent to 65 per cent. There were 28,812 Chinese and 71,952 Japanese in California according to the 1920 census. Between these Asiatic races there have never been bonds of mutual understanding; they are as unlike in their group and private life as any two peoples. Subject to the same discriminatory treatment in general, neither has resorted to joint protest with any other group, Asiatic or European, staying rather within strict racial lines.

Yet there was great similarity in these successive migrations since there was the same natural movement of poor peasants from overcrowded countries with a low standard of living and a high birth rate to a country of a high standard of living and a low birth rate endowed, moreover, with a vast territory of marvelous fertility and salubrious climate enjoyed by a predominantly male population with scant personal interest in agriculture. Unlike most American immigrants, these peoples continued the landed traditions of their native countries; they settled outside urban limits; still, many Chinese worked in the mines and were builders of highways and railroads. But the backbone of the entire economic competition between American and Oriental, European and Oriental, Oriental and Oriental was not in industry, commerce or construction work, but on the orchard and ranch. The agitation in California against Orientals is almost wholly a land question.

The agricultural situation peculiar to California, therefore requires special mention. Nearly every animal or crop raised anywhere in the United States is adaptable here. Over one-third of American railway tonnage of fruits and vegetables originates here.

An all-round-the-year climate results in a continuous growing season for a large variety of products but with unusually short time-intervals for any one. To satisfy the customary demands for this semi-skilled and skilled labor, the workers and "fruit tramps" are exceedingly mobile, operating on a fairly regular schedule which often includes the Alaskan canneries and Midwest wheat fields in their circuit. To a greater degree than elsewhere in the Union, agriculture is specialized and commercialized; a careful estimate has been made recently that the California farmer buys three quarters of his food supplies in contrast with perhaps half this percentage elsewhere in North America. Here agriculture is relatively prosperous—the bankruptcy figures constitute one proof —because it is organized upon business lines. Our products, largely non-essentials such as citrus fruits, walnuts, almonds, grapes, raisins, prunes, apricots, pears and peaches, depend for their largest markets on the Eastern territory approximately three thousand miles distant, hence the need and importance of strong coöperative marketing associations built around a single commodity usually. Despite the enhanced valuation of much rural property because of the climatic allurements, and a ratio of debt to value of 1:3, the number of farms operated by tenants has declined from 21 per cent to 15 per cent between 1920 and 1925, due largely to subdivisions; in 1920, 38 per cent was the average including all American farms. These features are striking.

Water, the prime limiting factor in agricultural development, is not only scarce, but nearly all the best lands require, or, at any rate, are greatly aided by irrigation. Upon these rich regions which were frequently barren or malarial spots a few years before, the Asiatics have settled and worked hard. Because these areas were so desirable, actually or potentially, and because irrigation districts caused closer settlements and coöperative arrangements all along the ditch where man "opens its gates", racial segregation from the native population was impossible.

The alien competition in agriculture is primarily between tenants, in contrast with the earlier conditions when Chinese and then Japanese received laborer's wages considerably below the normal scale, and as laborers they were highly regarded. The Chinese have

been held in greater esteem due to their willingness to be docile and satisfied with an inferior social and agricultural status; the Japanese were aggressive, highly organized, treated almost as colonists by the Imperial Government, and too ambitious to remain long at the lowest rung of the agricultural ladder. The actual extent of Oriental-native competition has been greatly exaggerated —these immigrants specialized in intensive, hard-working occupations and seldom worked with teams—yet when it did occur, the white tenant or owner could win out only by superior farm management or by lowering his standards. In the process by which the small farmer was compelled to sell his own labor or the products thereof in more or less open competition, he encountered a combination of efficient labor supported by individual skill and strong organization. The combination of an expressed race prejudice by the Californians and the individual helplessness of newcomers who did not understand or speak English intensified racial barriers, defined sharply social and economic boundaries, and, in proportion to the state of public opinion, unwittingly strengthened and solidified the racial and agricultural organizations with which the American landowner, superintendent, tenant, or business man dealt direct. Because of the difficulty of finding tenants or the labor type needed, the rural pioneer was pleased to secure the high rents or skilled services of Asiatics, but he soon appreciated that these practices, together with the birth rates of the first generation, presented a social problem which stirred up speedy resentment. White settlers moved away, the complexion of whole communities changed, and school and community problems came to the fore.

"What the laborers get depends in no direct way on what they spend or on their standard of expenditure. It depends upon their numbers as one factor; and the standard of living has an effect upon their wages only in so far as it has an effect upon their numbers." This quotation from Taussig's *Principles of Economics* is exceedingly well illustrated in the case of the Japanese who drove out the earlier immigrants, first, by accepting lower wages, then, by furnishing fresh labor supply by propagation. The proportion of women among the Chinese in California has always been very small; also, by preference, there was an early forsaking

of rural life for city Chinatowns. In addition to benefiting from the working out of this natural law, it should be added that the Asiatics quickly received as high or higher wages than any other people, a compensation merited fairly on the basis of service rendered. A Californian orchardist of long experience, an official of a great farm organization, epitomized the situation to the writer in these words, "He is a commodity, he is not cheap labor, but he finishes his job." Furthermore, the Orientals acquired that marked financial advantage reflected in their ability to outbid others in leasing or purchasing land, and even in borrowing money on more favorable terms since bankers regarded them as better risks. There was also the steadily decreasing yet real margin between the money expenditures of the earlier and later arrivals, respectively.

Never to be overlooked in the battle of standards is the wonderful capacity of the Japanese for discipline and organization. The farmer is spared the time, annoyance, and frequent disastrous results in hiring workers for a few days at a time and individually, since it is possible to make all such arrangements with a single racial contractor who receives a stated sum agreed upon in advance to cover wages, board, and usually camps and living quarters. Under these conditions of employment the Oriental has two marked advantages over all others, in that, despite the irregular laboring periods, he is always able to find work, furthermore his presence involves a minimum outlay for the employer in connection with buildings, conveniences, and recreation. Then, too, it is a fairly common practice among Japanese farm laborers to stake one of their number, perhaps at the rate of one to five dollars a month, in promising agricultural ventures which may extend through market distribution. This coöperative instinct is a mighty factor in counteracting the superior education, knowledge of soils, machinery, markets, language and customs, possessed by most Americans and earlier immigrants.

In the natural course of events, it is likely that Orientals would have acquired rather rapid control of the small land holdings and eventually overbid others in respect to subsequent large subdivisions; but four causes, one of their choosing, intervened. The still

numerous Chinese have voluntarily forsaken the soil, so that they do not count more than one per cent now compared with about seventy-five per cent of the rural labor half a century ago. The second reason is that public opinion governs the situation in spite of laws and mores particularly when regulated by an independent, virile, male population; with the further considerations of interest of small-scale versus large-scale production, of economic and social expediency, and of contacts which range widely from conflict to accommodation according to the local geographic complexion: for delineation of this subject, consult the writer's "California's Attitude towards the Oriental."[2] Thirdly, springing from manifest public opinion are the several State laws, notably the land acts which forbid aliens ineligible to citizenship from owning agricultural land or even from renting it on a crop share or cash basis—legislation which has now been passed in nearly identical form in numerous other Western states. Lastly, the federal government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), approved the "Gentlemen's Agreement" (1906) applicable to the Japanese and the Asiatic Barred Zone legislation (1917) extending the Far Eastern territory affected, and finally, by a sweeping vote, passed the Immigration Act of 1924. In effect, therefore, public opinion and state laws have raised artificial barriers to social and economic freedom in the case of Orientals already admitted to our shores; while the national government by restrictive immigration has greatly improved their status by choking off the continuous supply of cheap labor from foreign sources. But the question of land utilization is far from solved because even the second generation turns away from grimy work: thus, in California, the very few second-generation Americans of Chinese parentage who engage in agriculture are regarded as unsatisfactory, whereas, the second-generation Americans of Japanese parentage, mostly minors still, have accepted the characteristic American's view of life's satisfactions.

That the industry of Asiatics has resulted in *more* production

[2] *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* November, 1925, and "The Land, the Crops, and the Oriental," *Survey Graphic,* May, 1926.

cannot be denied, but of more significance is that it has resulted in a *different* kind of agricultural product. Of the State crops in 1920, for example, at least 90 per cent of the berries and over 50 per cent of the onions, asparagus, green vegetables and celery were raised by the Japanese, a people who excel where intensive hand work of a back-bending or squatting character is required, where family labor is possible and machinery little used, where long hours are required, and living conditions are often difficult. Under these conditions they have performed work which is unattractive to most people and for which others usually have little aptitude. Therefore, California's present problem is whether to (1) continue these types of farming unsuited under existing conditions to American standards, (2) devise labor-saving machinery such as has made it possible to employ non-Asiatics in growing rice largely consumed, moreover, by Japanese on the American Pacific Coast or in Japan, (3) promote substitute crops, (4) bring in cheap labor from somewhere to bring marginal land under cultivation, or (5) let the land lie fallow. More diversification and smaller farms is the immediate trend.

During the past five years the Japanese have been replaced by the Mexicans to a startling extent. This change has been due less to the lower wages accepted than to the land laws directed against aliens ineligible to citizenship (the Mexicans are classed as "white"), the necessity of providing for a large number of children born during their first few years in America, and the Americanization of the entire family. At the present time, certainly the Chinese and Japanese are reckoned much more efficient workers than the Mexicans, and, despite their far higher wage demands they would be preferred by the majority of employers—yet, for reasons already stated in this article, they are not available. This new competition makes the more difficult conclusive answers to the two main queries propounded to the writer.

Keeping constantly in mind that anti-Oriental legislation and prejudice are an integral part of this case history, it is fair to state that a lower standard of living has undoubtedly resulted in more production; yet Oriental industry has been a factor which cannot be left out even in the appraisement of standard of living

per se. Secondly, considering this same background, it does not appear that a lower standard of living taken by itself has been sufficient to force out those with a higher standard of living: occupational preference has been too inherent a force.

My general conclusions are that (1) irregularity of employment due to short, overlapping work periods in California related to a variety of products, has raised the general agricultural wage level, (2) the Asiatics have specialized in growing crops and products which require such irksome work that they have very little competition, hence they have had a virtual labor monopoly and could command high wages, (3) their efficiency has been so high that the wage scale has not been deemed exorbitant, (4) there has been no correlation between rate of income and rate of expenditure, and (5) the functioning of racial organizations, together with a highly developed spirit of personal coöperation including an inbred obedience to discipline, have been of immeasurable economic value to these aliens. Nor should we forget that the local race prejudice, directed not so much against individuals as against fears of large alien colonies, has been concerned with the later status of tenant and owner and not that of farm or ranch hand. In short, political acts have thwarted the natural operation of economic laws.

Chapter VII

THE RELATION OF AGRICULTURE TO COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The rôle of the rising standard of living in rural progress is clearly revealed in the preceding chapters. The post-war experience of American agriculture forces upon us the question as to whether a satisfactory standard of living can be permanently maintained upon American farms unless there be some readjustment of the economic relations of agriculture to commerce and industry. Under the present situation is not the standard of living of the farmer very definitely limited until he can successfully compete for his share of the national income with organized labor and organized business? So we submitted the question "How does the economic relation of agriculture to other industries and commerce affect possible standards of living of farmers?" Obviously any adequate answer to this question would require at least a large volume in itself, but the following articles seem to very clearly establish that there is a very definite limitation of the farmer's standard of living from this source. Mr. Davis shows the smaller portion of the national income going to farmers and the lower purchasing power of agricultural products; that during the past five years farmers have been maintaining their standard of living at the expense of their equities, a procedure which cannot go on indefinitely. He holds that human institutions and artificial devices control the distribution of the national income to the various classes of claimants, and that this can be affected by group action, which is the cause of the present disadvantage of agriculture. He concludes that if American farmers must supply the industrial world with food

at the same price as European or Asiatic industry is fed by peasant labor, so that American industry may compete in the markets of the world, then the living standards of our farmers must be sacrificed and they must tend towards those of the countries with which they compete.

Secretary Jardine also indicates the superior purchasing power of workers in industry, and shows that an agricultural depression lasts longer, is more severe, and is more difficult of relief, than is a depression in other fields of business or industry.

Without attempting to follow further the many implications of these facts and their many ramifications into economic theory, it is sufficient for our purposes that they very clearly indicate that rural progress is very definitely limited by the relative status of agriculture to commerce and industry as regards its ability to control its fair share of the national income. There is good reason, therefore, why rural schools and rural churches should have an intelligent interest in and do their part in promoting the better organization of farmers for economic purposes.

This is a question of national economy which inevitably becomes a political issue, but is one which should be dealt with from the broad standpoint of the permanent welfare of the whole nation considering what we have termed the social as well as the strictly economic aspects of the consequences, for national well being cannot be maintained with a relative decline in the standards of rural life.—D. S.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF AGRICULTURE IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

W. M. Jardine,
Secretary of Agriculture

The most perplexing problem confronting agriculture concerns the relation of the prices of farm products to the prices of manufactured products. At certain times the price levels give an ad-

vantage to agriculture. At other times the advantage is with industry.

This would at first seem to put agriculture and industry substantially on a parity, now one benefited, then the other. As a matter of fact, however, agriculture is more seriously affected by the shifting inequalities. The turnover in agriculture is slow, and is determined chiefly by factors over which the farmer has not control. Further, the number of business units in agriculture is exceedingly large; there are in the United States approximately 6,500,000 farms. The vast majority of these, moreover, are homes as well as business units.

It is obvious that adjustment of production, which is commonly the first step taken in business to relieve an unfavorable price situation, is necessarily made much more slowly in agriculture than in industry. The result is that agricultural depression tends to last longer, to be more severe, and to be more difficult of relief, than depression in other fields.

The process is clearly visible in the depression through which we have just been passing and which has not yet been wholly overcome. This situation is of importance not only as a contemporary economic problem of the first rank, but also as an example of a phenomenon which has occurred, with varying details, on many occasions and against which we should set up such safeguards for the future as seem sound and workable.

The period 1920-22 marked tremendous changes in prices, wages and profits. Prices for products were unremunerative. Labor faced unemployment, cuts in wages, and earnings inadequate to meet the normal costs of living. The profits of many business enterprises were either wiped out or greatly reduced.

The recovery for most of the non-agricultural groups came in 1922. By 1923 factories were again busy. Factory wages were restored to the levels existing before the depression, employment was high, and industrial activity in general exceeded normal activity. For agriculture, on the other hand, the depression continued into 1923 and 1924. Only in the last two years has it been possible to speak of a substantial improvement in the condition of the average farmer.

At present, the economic condition of the agricultural industry as a whole may be described as one of considerable improvement over the years of greatest depression in 1921 and 1922, but still one of incomplete recovery from the effects of that depression.

If the progress of agriculture is examined in detail, it will be found to consist largely of price recoveries. It will be remembered that all prices soared to peaks in 1920, both agricultural and non-agricultural price indexes rising close to a level of 250 compared with 100 before the war. By 1921 farmers' prices dropped to within 10 per cent of the pre-war level, and since then have made a slow but gradual recovery from 110 in 1921 to 151 in the spring of 1925, a rise of 37 per cent from the lowest to the highest points during the past five years.

Not all sections of agriculture shared equally in the improvement. In the early stages of the advance came the recovery in sheep and wool prices. Cotton producers were the next to experience recovery, in 1922 and 1923. In 1924 wheat and corn prices rose from their prolonged period of depression. During 1925 hogs and cattle values finally made substantial gains. The dairy and poultry producers did not suffer such drastic declines in the value of their products, and have consequently had a less rapid rise in the price of their products.

Since the spring of 1925, however, the level of farm prices has tended to recede. The index has fallen from 151 to 139 in July, 1926. Cotton and corn prices, which enjoyed relatively advantageous positions up to early 1925, have during the past year fallen to low levels as a result of abundant supplies, and so have wool and grain prices in general. On the other hand there have been still further advances in livestock prices. In June of this year, hog prices, expressed in terms of corn reached the highest value during the past sixteen years. In spite of the recent declines, potato prices are still more than double those of a year ago. But these continued advances since the early part of 1925 have never been sufficient to offset the greater declines in grain, cotton, and wool.

In addition to the general advance in prices of farm products from 1921 to the present time, there has been an advance in the

exchange value of the farmer's goods. The years 1921, 1922, and 1923 were made much more serious to the farmers because the prices of the things they had to buy with their low prices had fallen only to a level of 160 compared with 100 before the war, while farm prices had fallen to 110. Since then they have remained relatively stable, so that the advances in farm prices have meant advances in the buying power of farm products. From the low point reached in 1921, when the exchange value of an average unit of the farmer's prices was 69 per cent of its pre-war value, it rose to above 90 per cent by 1925. As a result of the present lower level of farm prices the exchange value of farm products has been at 87 for the past nine months. At this level it is, of course, well above the low point of 1921, but it is still 13 per cent below pre-war normal.

This progress, measured in terms of prices alone, does not, of course, picture the entire situation. The fact of greater importance is the amount of money that is being received for the year's output. Thus, in the case of cotton, even though prices dropped from 23 to 16 cents, the crop is sufficiently larger so that cotton growers probably received nearly as much money for their larger output as they did last year for a smaller crop. In the case of hogs, on the other hand, farmers are receiving more money this year for smaller marketing than they did in previous years of heavier marketings.

In terms of gross income, therefore, the agricultural situation appears somewhat different from that indicated by the price level. Grain growers as a group have received less money for this year's production than last year's. Neat animal producers, on the other hand, received somewhat more money. So did fruit and vegetable producers, largely as a result of the high potato prices. Dairy and poultry producers have also received somewhat more money. Taking all these groups together, the industry as a whole for the past year showed a moderate increase in gross money income over last year, but it is important to note that the rate of recovery which agriculture enjoyed up to the past year has not been maintained during the present year, 1925-26. Between 1922-23 and 1923-24, the gross income of farmers increased from approximately ten to

eleven billion dollars. The next year, 1924-25, it increased to twelve billion. For 1925-26 the figure is not much above twelve billion.

The comparisons so far presented have dealt only with price changes and the gross money income from farm production. Even if allowance is made for costs of production, however, a real gain in net income per farm is found. In 1919-20, the average net income amounted to $1,246. This was reduced to the very low figure of $514 in 1921-22. Since then, largely as a result of the recovery in prices, the net income has reached $879 in 1925-26, or an increase of 70 per cent above the low point.

A much greater improvement in the economic welfare of agriculture might now be recorded, if it were possible for farmers to make certain adjustments in costs which consume a very large part of the gross money returns. With incomes still considerably below those of 1919-20, farmers as a whole are still paying as heavy tax and interest burdens as they did before the depression. Farm mortgage indebtedness does not appear to have been reduced since 1920, and with land values approximately 30 per cent less than in 1920, farm indebtedness still constitutes a heavy burden and drain on income.

While there has been a gradual improvement in net returns for the country as a whole during the past few years, this improvement has not been uniform in all parts of the country.

From the surveys made by the Department of Agriculture, based on more than 15,000 farms operated by owners, it appears that between 1922 and 1925 the greatest gains in net returns were made in the North Atlantic States and in the Western states. The increase in net returns were from $858 to $1,352 per farm in the former, and $986 to $2,047 in the latter. The least improvement was shown by the South Atlantic and South Central States. In fact, in the latter, returns for 1925 were only $616 as compared with $623 in 1922. In 1924 the states deriving most of their income from crops made their greatest gains. In 1925 sales from livestock contributed most of the year's advance.

It has already been indicated that other groups in society, as shown by non-agricultural price movements as a whole, by factory

wages and business profits, have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity in the past few years than have farmers as a group. In terms of price levels, we have seen that the farmer's prices are now about 87 per cent as high as non-agricultural prices (on a pre-war basis).

If we compare the farmer's net income with the earnings of the average employed wage earner, it appears that in 1921 and 1922 the farmers net income (after deducting costs of production) was 43 per cent of his earnings in 1919-20, while the factory wage earnings were 88 per cent of the 1919-20 wages. In 1924-25, the farmer's net income has risen to 69 per cent of their earnings in 1919-20, but factory wages had increased to 100 per cent. In other words, while wage earners are now enjoying wages as high as those earned before the depression, the average comparable earnings of farmers are still about 30 per cent below. Even if we take into account the fact that costs of living for the country as a whole are now approximately 15 per cent less than they were in 1919-20, it appears that the factory wage earners can now buy about 16 per cent more goods than they could before the depression. Farmers, on the other hand, cannot buy as much; in fact, with their present incomes they can buy approximately 20 per cent less.

Another indication that the agricultural recovery has not been equal to that of other groups is found in the incomes of corporations as reported to the United States Treasury Department. The net incomes of corporations, after paying Federal income taxes, may be taken as a measure of the economic welfare of those who derive their incomes from interest and dividends on their investments in industrial enterprises. In 1919, all corporations reported net incomes totaling $6,200,000,000. In 1921 there were practically no net incomes reported for all corporations combined. In 1923 there were reported $4,000,000,000; in 1924 $5,400,000,000. During the past two years the rate of business activity has been well above normal, except for minor mid-year recessions.

The foregoing data present a characteristic picture of agricultural depression and partial recovery. This particular depression is probably the most severe that American farming has encountered.

It differs only in degree, however, not in kind, from depressions that have previously occurred. Periodic depressions have appeared at intervals for a very long time.

The fact that such depressions have occurred and that no adequate remedy against them has as yet been devised, should not be a reason for concluding that they are beyond hope of prevention. Rather it should stimulate the best thought of all of us, particularly those who are versed in economics, to endeavor to arrive at means of permanent stabilization of agriculture. Into the details of possible solutions it is not the function of this paper to go, further than merely to suggest that production and marketing must be considered inseparably. We have seen with our own eyes a deep agricultural depression. We have the opportunity for first-hand study that should lead to workable, sound conclusions.

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HOW DOES THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF AGRICULTURE OR THE ECONOMIC RELATION OF AGRICULTURE TO OTHER INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE AFFECT POSSIBLE STANDARDS OF LIVING OF FARMERS?

Chester C. Davis,
Director of Grain Marketing, Illinois Agricultural Association

A farmer in the United States in 1850 received approximately $31 while the average person employed in other major groups was receiving $100; by 1900 the farmer received $46 to the $100 that went to the other fellow; since 1900 this has declined until in 1920 the ratio was 39 to 100.

The National Industrial Conference Board, which presents the foregoing measure of agriculture's relative labor reward, estimates that the return for labor and management in agriculture during the six years from 1920 to 1925 averaged only $613 as compared with an average of $1,400 for other workers.

Farmers in the United States in 1920 numbered 29.9 per cent of the total population, and received in 1919 17.7 per cent of the total current income; in 1920, 13.4 per cent; and in 1921, 9.9 per

cent, according to Dr. Wilford I. King of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Without raising the question of the fairness of the basis on which products of agriculture exchanged for those of other industries prior to the war, the post-war situation of the American farmer is suggested by the Department of Agriculture index of purchasing power of 30 main farm commodity groups in terms of the wholesale price of non-agricultural commodities. The range has been between the low of 69 in 1920 to the high of 89 in 1925, and stood at about 87 during the first six months of 1926.

The people of the United States now are accustomed to a standard of living higher than ever before thought of. We tend as a whole to devote less time to direct income-bringing toil, and more to non-economic pursuits, we seek less grind and more opportunity to develop the higher values of life. We accept this as socially good.

Whether farmers as a group can raise their living standards toward a par with those prevailing among workers in other lines is a question that concerns many people. It presents a vital problem that must be met and solved if we are to continue national health. I am assuming agreement with the premise that sound, contented rural citizenry and wholesome country life are essential to the well-being of the United States, notwithstanding a leadership is developing in important places that looks to the time when the American farmer will be the mere gardener to an immense industrial nation. This has been true elsewhere. We do not want it in the United States.

Many men honestly believe that the farm difficulty is due to the fact that the farmers' standards of living are too high. I once heard the president of a state bankers' association in a western state plead for a return of the day when farmers stayed at home and came to town but two or three times a year. It was next to criminal, he suggested, for a farmer in debt to own a little car. There are thousands who think with him. In June, 1926, a prominent member of the United States Senate cited the number of automobiles and radios in Iowa to prove there is no agricultural problem. Another senator's remedy for the situation was for the farmers to go home from Washington and tighten their belts a

little more. Still another diagnosed the difficulty with the farmer as too much education, saying: "In my opinion one of the things that helped ruin the country and put the farming interest in the condition it is now in is so-called education. . . . I have seen very few people in my life who were so-called educated who ever went to farm work afterwards." About the same time (June 25, 1926) the *Washington Evening Star* said editorially that "demands for farm relief are based in large degree on the natural desire of the toiler to exchange his lot with that of the financier. The toiler is absolutely essential and must be kept to this task."

During the decades of expanding agriculture from 1850 to 1900, the farmers accepted the relatively low living standards that attended farming as an investment to be repaid out of advancing land values. Returns from that source do not promise much now. Every thoughtful leader in organized agriculture is asking himself whether it is going to be possible to establish and maintain that standard of living on the farms which is necessary to a sound, wholesome rural life; and what the consequences will be if that is not possible.

Along with everybody else the wants of the farmer and his wife have increased. They require an automobile, with them not a luxury like a town car, but a necessity. There are the telephone, the daily paper, the radio in the individual's circle; the right kind of schools, churches, recreation and community centers in the location. The city housewife's necessities are luxuries in her country cousin's kitchen.

These wants are here. There are more to come. Together they are combined with many others to form the modern farmer's concept of a standard of living. He sees or thinks he sees, a chance to lose it. He is going to struggle for it. He reads and thinks. He is articulate. He is a voter. He has been making some noise about it. So others too, are asking whether it is going to be possible for him to have it and keep it; if so, how; and if not, what is going to happen?

The purchasing power of the farmer's income is one factor that limits his living standard. It is true that if it were increased, he might not take advantage of it, but on the other hand might

employ the income in competing for more land. Therefore if it is desirable as a national objective to increase the farmer's share in the national income, it is necessary that he understand how to use it. As Dr. H. C. Taylor remarks, he must eat his cake to keep it; in the long run, any class of producers gets only what it consumes. If farm income can be increased it should be used to broaden and enrich life for the individual and the community, and not capitalized in land values nor employed to enlarge output to the detriment of price.

I have asked many men from all sections of the country, whether even the existing standard of living can be maintained as the national income is now divided between workers on the farm, and in other industries. Few who are familiar with the situation answer in the affirmative. There are many signs of the lowering standard. There would be more but for the fact that too often the farmer is satisfying his wants at the expense of invested capital and equity in his possessions.

I have an idea that a close study of farm indebtedness in the United States would reveal interesting material on this point. Unquestionably farmers have been piling up farm mortgage indebtedness at the same time their farm values were declining.

The Bureau of the Census at the time this was written had compiled and released the farm mortgage statistics of the 1925 agricultural census from 17 representatives states. In 1910 the sum of the mortgages in these 17 states amounted to 27.2 per cent of the total value of the mortgaged farms; in 1920 29.3 per cent; and in 1925, 42.9 per cent.

From 1920 to 1925, the farm mortgage debt in these states increased $323,521,000. During the same time the value of the farms mortgaged dropped over one billion dollars.

In other words, it looks as though farmers are maintaining their standard of living at the expense of their equities. If the census figures showing total land values in Iowa are reduced to dollars of 1910 purchasing power as a measuring stick, it is seen that the actual exchange value of all Iowa farm lands in 1925 was only 91 per cent of that of 1910. The farm mortgage indebtedness, however, had climbed from $204,242,722, to $625,629,100 or had more

than trebled. Manifestly this cannot continue indefinitely. The actual economic status of agriculture is receiving fair and competent study. Less thought is being given to means of bringing about a fairer distribution of wealth. The farmers are insisting upon a national agricultural policy that shall secure it.

The problem of giving agriculture a better share in the national dividend, is a practical one. Human institutions and artificial devices control in large measure the distribution of income to its various classes of claimants. The economic status of agriculture in relation to other industries, and to commerce, can be affected by resourcefulness in group action. That is largely what has affected it to the disadvantage of agriculture.

Post-war readjustments, and conscious effort on the part of farmers and the government to increase the farmer's share, have been more or less futile. Widespread shifting out of agriculture into other occupations, and changes from crop to crop within the industry itself have taken place. Concerted efforts have been made to reduce and adjust production. Coöperative organization for more efficient marketing has been stressed as never before with a great deal of encouragement from outside the farm ranks, and from the government itself.

Actual government attempts to aid agriculture, outside the field of production, have been in the form of duties on agricultural imports; encouragement of coöperative organizations, and the establishment of new ways to loan farmers money.

Even if they could regulate the acreage planted to a certain crop, farmers cannot control resultant volume of production. Therefore, they cannot adjust supply to demand as other producers do. On the same acreage basis, the differences between the American wheat crops of 1924 and 1925 was nearly 200,000,000 bushels. On corn the range in recent years on substantially the same acreage, has been nearly nine hundred million bushels. When coöperative associations attempt to influence price levels by withholding temporarily unrequired surpluses, or by disposing of them outside the United States in such manner as to keep domestic supply balanced with demand at a fair price, it is upon their relatively few members that the burden of stabilizing the entire industry

falls. The load is too great, and the association that attempts the practice either must drop it or lose its membership.

Tariffs have proved ineffective in affecting the prices of those crops of which normal production exceeds domestic demand. Domestic conditions fix the cost of production, but world markets govern the prices here as well as abroad. If tariffs operated so as to enhance American food and raw material prices clearly above levels outside the United States, it is inevitable that powerful forces would move to lower or remove them. This is indicated by a recent statement by Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, which in substance expressed the policy that American farm producers must supply American industry and labor at the same price that European industry is fed by peasant labor.

Analysis of the attempts heretofore made to improve the economic status of agriculture and of the reasons why they have been unsuccessful would require a volume. If the industrial policy voiced by Secretary Mellon becomes the final policy of America, then the reduction of the American farm standard of living is inevitable. It means that American agriculture is to be sacrificed in order that American industry may be able to compete in the markets of the world.

In 1850 persons employed in agriculture numbered 63.2 per cent of the total population; in 1920 29 per cent. In a few years more, it will be 25 per cent; then 20 per cent. If a national policy to maintain an American standard on the farms is to be developed successfully, the time to do it is now, and not twenty years later when the farmers' relative political importance is substantially less.

Under a national policy consciously devoted to the establishment and support of economic equality for agriculture, American farmers in the long run will get those conditions and things that go to make up their standard of living which they demand if they are to keep on farming. This is only true (a) if foreign living standards and costs of farm production are prevented from setting American farm prices, hence income, and thus influencing our standard of living downward; and (b) if American farm families generally insist on income sufficient to maintain a high living stand-

ard, and when they get the income, devote it to securing that standard rather than to merciless competition with each other.

The first is a problem of group action applied to organization and governmental policies; the second should be one of the goals of education.

Chapter VIII

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

In discussing the outline for this report the question arose as to whether a farmer who gives some time to community welfare can compete with one who gives his entire energy to his farming. A question was therefore drawn up, as in item III A of the outline in the appendix (pg. 319), "Is the greatest economic efficiency in agriculture compatible with social welfare? of the individual? of society?"

The writers to whom this question was submitted have considered it solely from the national standpoint,[1] although they come to somewhat different conclusions. Dr. Hibbard holds that greater efficiency will reduce the number of those engaged in agriculture, crowding out the inefficient and resulting in an improved standard of living for those who survive. Mr. Wallace, on the other hand, views the topic in the light of the existing agricultural situation and holds that our national goal of agricultural efficiency has presupposed a surplus for the European market, but that with a sudden change in our financial relations with Europe the American farmer is now caught "long" on efficiency. He would increase efficiency by the improvement of land and animals so that the present product could be secured from fewer units. Although he does not indicate such a sequel, it would seem that such a reduction in the farm plant—of acres or animals—should reduce the amount of labor, give the farmer more leisure, and tend to raise his standard of living. If this be the case, then in-

[1] See Dr. Black's discussion of "The Goal of National Efficiency," pg. 44.

creased efficiency as defined by either of these authors will ultimately encourage a better standard of living.

Mr. Wallace deprecates the decreasing proportion of farm to city population, but he seems to assume that a rate of one to four is inevitable. The question might well be raised whether from the standpoint of national welfare it is desirable to have fewer farms more technically efficient, or whether there are not certain values to the national life in having as large a number of people on farms as can maintain a satisfactory standard of living. In the course of time, may not one measure of rural progress be the ability to maintain satisfactorily a larger proportion of our population in a rural environment?—D. S.

EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

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This question is interesting and important from two points of view. To begin with efficiency is closely linked in the minds of many farmers and their advisors with the surplus production of recent years. Next it is of primary importance from the long time point of view in connection with the interrogation: Wherewithal shall we be fed?

The first point attracts considerable attention, and is the cause of criticism from many quarters. A group, or at least a large number, of farm leaders and sympathizers feel that the federal government, and more particularly the Agricultural Colleges, have damaged the farmer by teaching him how to produce more efficiently, thus contributing to a larger output, larger than the public will take at a satisfactory price. The results of efficiency manifest themselves at some two or three points. First the producer within a competitive field prospers or fails to prosper in proportion to his efficiency. This hardly needs support in the way of argument. An illustration or two should suffice. For example, a merchant

does a given amount of business with the use of ten thousand dollars in capital and ten helpers. A competitor uses fifteen thousand dollars, and employs twelve helpers. No fine drawn system of accounting is needed to discover which of the two will succeed, and which probably will fail. In farming of the present day some farmers produce milk or eggs or pork at half the cost to others. The most efficient are doing moderately well even during this period of depression. When efficiency is recommended someone is sure to ask: Will it help matters if all follow the advice?

Should all farmers at once come to the level of the best in efficiency and continue on the same scale in acres there would of course be a larger surplus of goods offered on the market than is the case at present. And should there be a great increase in goods the price would inevitably fall. Hence, it is held, more efficiency would ruin the farmers by giving a surplus above consumption needs as the regular thing, therefore the less added efficiency acquired by our farmers the better. From the point of view of the consumer the greater production would always appear desirable, since it would lower costs.

From the more general, long time point of view the desirability of efficiency, or at least its importance, can hardly be overstated. The efficiency in producing food is one of the primary conditions of human existence. The gloomy outlook, recently so frequently taken by sociologists and geneticists, is explained by their lack of faith in the ability of the farmers to keep production abreast of population. Moreover, it must be admitted that were the population of the western world to continue its present rate of increase there would hardly be a possibility of adequate food two centuries ahead. At least there could not without radical changes in methods of production.

Since it does not appear inevitable that population must continue to increase at the rate attained during the nineteenth century, and since further, the ultimate powers of food production are unknown, and are undoubtedly much greater than most of our gloomy prophets have forecast it seems futile to worry about eventual starvation. Again, the ultimate amount of food procurable is by no means dependent on the efficiency of the methods used in pro-

ducing it. The question is rather, does a high degree of efficiency on the part of farmers promote the welfare of all, or does it not?

By way of analogy let us turn to some familiar instance of efficiency in the manufacturing world. Nothing illustrates the case in hand better than the automobile tire industry. During the War the prices of tires rose about on a par with other prices. In 1921, due to alleged overproduction, the prices fell greatly, and several of the biggest companies were virtually bankrupt. In order to save the day, or at least to save a complete collapse attention was centered on economics. As a result certain types of casings which had been turned out at the rate of one per day per man employed were produced at the rate of three per man. Due to this revolution, in spite of high priced rubber; tires are cheaper than they were in 1913—a very remarkable thing in itself. For that matter automobiles, considering the character of the machines now produced, are cheaper than in 1913, and all because of improved methods of production, or greater efficiency. That the public is better off because of the cheapening of these processes will be denied only by the cynics who think in terms of ox carts, or at best in terms of surreys, and who think we would be better off with fewer autos. Whether we need so many autos or not the same principle is illustrated in the excellence and cheapness of a thousand conveniences and necessities of everyday life.

If, then, there is no question as to the social desirability of efficiency in transportation facilities, weaving, knitting, and sewing, why, forsooth, question the desirability of efficient agriculture.

Efficiency in agriculture implies overproduction in the minds of many, due to the fact that it is viewed by the people engaged in agriculture. From the standpoint of others the case assumes a different aspect. To the consumer efficiency means eventually a cheaper product and therefore a thing to be desired. Socially there can be but one verdict regarding efficiency of any or all classes of workers. The more efficient they are the more will be produced.

Efficiency from the standpoint of a given class is quite another matter. A great increase in efficiency in the doing of any kind of work will usually result in enabling a smaller number than formerly to meet the demand. A good example of this principle

is that of the revolution some thirty years ago in the typesettnig business. The invention of the line-o-type machine made printing cheaper than it had ever been before. Everybody was benefited except the typesetters. Rules were at once passed prescribing who might run the new machines. Many compositors were thrown entirely out of work and had to take up whatever was available, often some entirely inferior work. To those who remained in the work of setting type by machinery the new methods were advantageous. All counted there are more workers in the printing business than ever before.

Just so in farming. A great increase in efficiency, taking place suddenly, would give, not more income per worker, but less. On the other hand the efficient farmers, whether dairymen or cotton growers prosper much beyond the inefficient. A new development always helps the abler members of a group more than it helps the mediocre. The inefficient are crowded out at the bottom. This heartless method of adjustment is going on all the time. In the economic world the race is to the swift, and the battle to the strong. The sudden improvements of processes whether in agriculture or elsewhere benefit those who can use them effectively much more than those who can make but partial use of the advantages. In agriculture this general fact is of special significance since farmers do not readily or easily change to another occupation. Thus we have certain farmer leaders who always decry progress involving efficiency in production on the ground that greater efficiency will result in more product, lower prices, and less prosperity. There is a measure of truth in the position taken. The impression that farmers should stick to their work and stay on the farms is ingrained. If there are too many workers in shoe factories everybody is anxious that the excess numbers should find employment somewhere else. But not so in farming. There has always been an excess of population in the country yet most people, farmers and others, feel that something is wrong when farmers change their occupations. Greater efficiency has been introduced into farming almost constantly since the Civil War. Throughout that period we have had an ever lessening proportion of our people in agriculture. Some farmers have suffered because of the competition made more

severe by improved machinery and greater output. Those who have remained have had both the advantages and disadvantages of the new régime. In general the standard of life of the farmers has been improved. The real reason, so far as there is any reason at all, in thinking that efficiency of farmers is socially undesirable is closely associated with the feeling that all farmers ought to stay on the land. If farming were done on the basis of the methods and knowledge of a century ago we could not ride in automobiles for the simple reason that no such army of workers as are needed in building them could be spared from the corn and wheat fields. They would be producing food directly instead of indirectly.

We should occasionally look at society as though it were one big family. If, in the United States, a family of 115,000,000 people have to expend half of their energy in producing foodstuff then there is the other half left to do other things. Since, however, hardly over a quarter of the people need work at the production of foodstuff it leaves nearly three quarters to do other things. As a result we have autos, radios, fabrics, books, services, schools, without end. Truly we are not living by bread alone, although we are well content, in general with materialism.

What we need is a good balance; a wise and workable proportionality. We need farmers enough to produce the food and fibers, and in a way which will yield a reward comparable with what they could individually hope to do were they otherwise employed. At present the young people on the farms are looking enviously at the payrolls of city employees. The agricultural efficiency already attained is sufficient to provide the required amount of food at a low price, enabling a smaller number than formerly to do the farm work. The immediate result is distress. The outcome after adjustment will mean a better fed nation with energy to put into other lines of effort. Wherever the individual can outdo his competitors in efficiency he gets the reward for it. Where considerable groups become more efficient than the majority they may gain a great advantage over the rest. Where a whole industry becomes efficient society, not the individual, is the gainer, but all rise in the scale of living in proportion to efficiency, and the more general the efficiency the greater the benefit.

STANDARDS OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURE AND THEIR COMPATIBILITY WITH SOCIAL WELFARE

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During the past thirty years we have doubled our urban population in the United States whereas our open country or farm population has increased about ten per cent. The following table illustrates this situation:

URBAN AND FARM POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

	City, town and village folks in millions	*Open country or farm people in millions*	*Number of city folks per farm person*
1880	28	22	1.3
1890	28	25	1.5
1900	46	30	1.5
1910	60	32	1.9
1920	74	32	2.2
1926	86	31	2.8

The bearing of this table on the problem of efficiency in agricultural production is obvious. In any nation where neither agricultural imports nor agricultural exports have changed greatly and where there has been no great change in dietary habits, it would seem that the ratio of city folks to farm people is a fair measure of agricultural efficiency. In nations using hand methods of agricultural production the methods are so inefficient that there must be necessarily several people living on the land for each person living in the town.

The farmers in the United States are not twice as efficient as they were in 1880 even though today there are 280 people living in town for every 100 people living in the open country whereas, while in 1880 there were only 130 living in town for every 100 living in the open country. Part of the change has come because we are not exporting, today, as large a percentage of our food production as we did in 1880; part has resulted from larger imports of certain

foods; and part has come because we are now eating more dairy and vegetable products and less meat, per capita, than we did in 1880. A very large part of the change, however, is very definitely due to the increase in the efficiency of agricultural workers.

To what extent is it possible for our farmers to increase their efficiency? Will the day come, when for each person living on the land, there will be four or even five people living in village, town and city? In this connection, it is worth while to examine briefly the immediate past and the immediate future of our agricultural production methods.

In the early part of this century, there was awakened a very great interest in methods of agricultural production. Previous to 1900, most of our agricultural colleges and experiment stations were more dead than alive. But, as the prices of farm products began to rise more rapidly than the general price level, the cry of "Back to the land" gradually rose in the land. We had a Roosevelt Country Life Commission inquiring into the situation. We had a James G. Hill pointing out the spectre of approaching food shortage. The force of economic events and national sentiment gave a tremendous impetus to the agricultural colleges and the experiment stations. Then came the cry that the results of scientific experiments must be carried more forcefully to the farmer. The extension specialists, the county agents and the farm papers took up the task. The automobile, in 1910, was found on about one farm in twenty or thirty; today it is almost universal and it has increased the efficiency of the average farmer at least 10 per cent. Farm machinery companies, which previous to 1910 had not made any very startling changes in their types of implements for a number of years, began to perfect their designs and to adapt the tractor to practical farm conditions.

More definitely directed human brains and energy have been put on the problem of agricultural efficiency during the past fifteen years than ever before in history. Much has already been accomplished but apparently even more will be done during the next ten years. Over large areas of the corn belt, the use of lime and legumes will be doubled or trebled during the next ten years. There will be a widespread introduction of strains of corn which

will yield at least five bushels an acre more than those which have been in common use. The McLean County system of hog sanitation should raise the number of pigs saved, per litter, from less than five to more than six, in most corn belt states. The more widespread use of tankage and other efficient supplements to corn, in the hog ration, will considerably increase the output of pork per hundred bushels of corn. While tractors have been an exceedingly expensive tool in the hands of many farmers, it is now becoming obvious that some of them, at least, will soon be perfected to a point where they will greatly increase the efficiency of our larger farmers in most parts of the country.

We are now in the midst of a revolution in farm methods. Theoretically it is possible for this revolution to reach a point where for each one hundred persons living on the farm, in the United States, four hundred people can live in the villages, towns and cities. At the present time, however, there are forces at work which make it seem rather doubtful if the increase in the efficiency of the American farmer will be carried quite that far. This brings us into consideration of the question of "Is the greatest economic efficiency in agriculture compatible with social welfare at the present time?"

Normal human beings instinctively answer "Yes" to a question of this sort. They say that the only way to improve the standard of living, in the nation, is for the different laboring classes to produce as efficiently as possible. The twentieth century has made a god out of efficiency, a god which most people, nowadays, worship with far less skepticism than the God of the Bible.

Before we question the all wise beneficence of the Efficiency God as it relates to agriculture, at the present time, let us freely admit that farmers, as individuals, will necessarily be as efficient as their brains and energy permit. In a highly competitive business, like farming, the individual farmers will never consciously hold out of use approved methods as certain large businesses are reported to do. By stern necessity, the individual farmer is driven in the direction of producing as much as possible at the lowest possible cost. Farm Papers, County Agents, Departments of Agriculture, et al, talking to farmers in terms of this necessity, readily formu-

late a creed which in effect is "Great is the God Efficiency and the County Agent is his Prophet".

While County Agents must necessarily be rigidly orthodox in their worship of the Efficiency God, sociologists, with a broader outlook, may well be heterodox or even skeptical. Some of the background for heterodoxy is presented in the following:

The size of the human stomach is limited and the demand for most foods is non-elastic. The desire of man for industrial products is almost limitless but there are very definite limits to the demand for food. It is easily possible, therefore, to have altogether too much food at a given time and place.

In the United States there has been a definite over-production of food since 1920 and it is probable that, on the whole, this will continue for at least ten years longer. Of course, some humanitarians will say that there is no over-production as long as there are poor folks starving in the great cities. However, any sensible person knows that even though we had twice as much food in the United States as we have today, many of these poor folks would still be starving. There is such a variation in human ability that there will always be a number of folks, under a competitive system, who are not getting on well no matter how great the production of goods may be. As an average, of the past five years, the United States has exported 24 per cent of her wheat and 20 per cent of her federally inspected pork products. These percentages are somewhat greater than during the five years just before 1914 but the significant point in the present over-production situation is not that the exports are slightly greater but that they are now being sent to a Europe which, owing to the post-war reversal in credit balances is no longer able to give us any satisfactory return for our exports.

Before the war, our exports of wheat and pork products were a benefit to the entire nation. When there was a crop failure and our exports were small, it was necessary for us to send gold to Europe in order to pay the interest on the several billions of dollars we had borrowed from her to build our railroads, etc., during the period following the civil war. On the other hand, when our crops were abundant we could not only pay the interest we

owed Europe but could send her enough food so that we could strengthen our credit structure by imports of gold. This happened, for instance, in 1879 and 1880 when, as a result of our large exports we imported what, up to that time, had been unprecedented quantities of gold. In those days, unusually large grain exports and gold imports were the breath of life to general business. In reverse fashion, we find in 1894, crop failure, marked falling off in agricultural exports and unprecedentedly large exports of gold to Europe. We couldn't pay the interest on the debt we owed Europe, by means of our agricultural exports, so we had to make good with gold exports. This so weakened the metalic base of our currency in the United States that prices of all kinds fell and we had very hard times.

The situation is completely reversed today. We no longer owe Europe several hundred million dollars in interest charges every year but on the contrary Europe owes us nearly half a billion dollars. During the past five years, Europe has managed somehow to purchase twenty-four per cent of our wheat and twenty per cent of our federally inspected pork products. She has sent us gold and paper promises to pay until we in the United States don't have any particular desire either for more gold or more European bonds and notes. Today it is of no particular benefit to the United States to produce unusually large crops. Even though we had no exports whatever the United States could get along very well. Before the war we had to worry about paying the interest on our debt by sending exports of commodities, exports of gold or paper promises to pay abroad. Now it is Europe who must worry. It is she who must send the United States exports of goods or gold or more paper promises to pay. Before 1914 the United States was a young but powerful nation with an efficient financial incentive to produce agricultural products to the limit because that happened to be the easiest way to settle her international interest obligations.

Since 1914 the United States, almost in a twinkling of an eye, has reached the point where there is no necessity whatever, so far as the financial situation is concerned, for producing a surplus of farm products. From the standpoint of our own comfort there may

be some advantage in having a small surplus in good years but from a financial standpoint there is no excuse for it whatever.

In 1910 when the price of farm products was increasing, relatively much faster than the price of other things, it may have been a matter of national concern to direct special attention toward increasing the efficiency of agricultural production. Today, the situation is temporarily reversed. For the next ten or fifteen years the happiness of the average person living in the United States will not be particularly increased by improvements in the efficiency of the American farmer. True it is that further improvements in agricultural efficiency will enable the city laboring man to buy his food cheaper than is now the case. However, the city laboring man today is devoting a far smaller percentage of his income to food than he did before the war, whereas the western farmer is devoting a much larger percentage of his income for eastern manufacturers' products than he did before the war. In the long run, the cause of right and justice will not be served by enabling the laboring man temporarily to buy his food even cheaper than he is today. Eventually the increase in population will be such that the American farmer will again be independent of the low purchasing power of Europe. When that day comes it will again be in order to bring the problem of increasing agricultural efficiency into the center of the national consciousness.

From the standpoint of the more distant future it is well to ask just how many people we should have living in the villages, cities and towns for each person living in the open country. Can we build up an enduring nation on the basis of forty million farmers and one hundred sixty million town and city folks? The goal of agricultural efficiency seems to be in that direction. For the time being, the effect of agricultural efficiency is to make it possible for the city laboring man to devote a much smaller proportion of his income to food than he did before the war. In the long run, however, the effect of increased agricultural efficiency is to increase the city population relative to the farm population. It is to be expected that eventually we shall have at least four town and city folks for each farmer and that the average laboring man will eventually have to give at least as large a percentage of his income for food as before

the war or else the dietary will be much more largely vegetarian and dairy than it was in 1913.

The social problems resulting from a population of forty million farmers and one hundred sixty million town and city folks in the United States will doubtless be quite different from the sort of problems to which we are now accustomed. It would seem that a population so dense will be somewhat beyond the optimum both on the farms and in the cities. More efficiency and human happiness can doubtless be had with around twenty-five million people living on the farms and not more than a hundred million living in the towns and cities.

There is grave doubt as to whether a nation can last more than a few centuries under a situation where there are four or more town and city peoples to each person living on the land. Can the great masses of people crowded together in such cities as Chicago and New York be trusted to make the decisions, which they must make, in a civilization of this sort? Even today with only two hundred and eighty people in cities and towns to every hundred persons on farms, there is decided evidence of an extraordinary lack of ability on the part of city people to grasp the significance of economic and social relationships between the farm and city. Leaders brought to the top in cities, whether they be selected by political forces or business competition are bright and vigorous in their way but apparently incapable of understanding agricultural problems. Many city leaders seem to have not only an ignorance of agriculture but a decided disdain or contempt for it. While they may not express the feeling openly they complain amongst themselves that the farmer is a continual belly-acher and a chronic kicker. They want the farmer to produce an abundance of food cheaply without making any fuss. For the most part they examine agricultural statistics only for the purpose of proving that the farmer should be satisfied with his present share of the national income or for the purpose of proving that the particular city group to which they personally belong should have a larger share in the national income even though it comes at the expense of the farmer. These city leaders are wise in terms of the only game which they know, but they are both unable and unwilling to consider the more distant future.

Previous to the war it could be estimated that our town and city population was increasing at the rate of about one million, four hundred thousand annually. While no very reliable figures are available, it may be roughly estimated that, of this number, about four hundred thousand people came from the farms, about seven hundred thousand were immigrants from foreign countries and about three hundred thousand resulted from the excess of births over deaths in the towns and cities. In the case of the natural increase in the towns and cities most of it was due to the unusually high birth rate among the foreign born. The well-to-do in the cities have barely held their own, if they have not lost ground. Previous to 1900 a much larger percentage of the city growth was due to an influx from farm boys and girls. From now on it seems that this is to be a less and less important matter. Our cities will, necessarily, be renewed to a greater extent from within and to a lesser extent from without. For another century our farm folks will probably continue to send about two hundred thousand people annually to the cities. This means that within fifty years it is probable that nine out of every ten city people will have been born in the city, whereas today a high percentage of city folks were reared on the farm.

Probably the inborn qualities of the city child are fully as good as the inherent qualities of the farm child. Intelligence tests indicate that the ability of the city child to do clerical labor is superior to that of the farm child. Nevertheless we can't help but question the intelligence with which the nation will be run when we reach the point when ninety per cent of our city people will have been born and reared in the city.

Almost unconsciously and without deliberately willing it, we have joined England in a great experiment. We are going to find out if a nation can long endure when there are more than three people living in town for each person living in the country. The goal of agricultural efficiency from a social standpoint is, first, to enable the city man to get along by spending a small percentage of his income for food and in the second place to increase the city population relative to the farm population.

We have made it a national policy to use State and Govern-

ment agencies in increasing agricultural efficiency. Farmers might very well inquire why it is not equally a government and state function to increase the efficiency of city labor. Why not make it possible for the farmer to enjoy more city made goods than he can now?

It is now clearly evident that the momentum of economic forces will soon result in three or four town people for every farm person. We know that a relationship of this sort will bring us many troubles. We know that for a time we can dodge the facing of certain problems by increasing our efficiency both agricultural and industrial. The question comes if we haven't about reached the time when we can profitably spend less energy in the agricultural world in devising more efficient methods of production. True it is that by 1945 or 1950 we shall again have a pressure of city population on food supply which will result in farm product prices rising faster than the price of other things. In that day we can expect again a renewed emphasis on agricultural efficiency. But, with the situation as it is today, surely it would seem to be wise to take something of a breathing spell in an effort to map out social, economic, and psychological forces. Efficiency is a mighty important thing for the individual farmer who is in the heat of such a bitter competition as is now going on in the United States. Nevertheless, economists and sociologists may well question whether, from a national standpoint it is wise for our Federal and State governments to direct such a large share of their attention at the present time to increasing agricultural efficiency. It is probable that if farmers could speak with the same united and intelligent voice that union labor speaks, they would ask the nation to cease efforts along the lines of increasing agricultural efficiency until some common sense solution had been found for the present overproduction which is causing farmers to have an unduly small share of the national income.

At the present time it would seem to be wise for extension workers and county agents insofar as they are directed by State and Federal Authorities to emphasize some such program as the following:

1. Larger yields on smaller fields.
2. Fewer brood sows but larger litters.
3. Fewer and better dairy cows.

Specifically, sufficient energy should be thrown into a legume campaign so that 15 per cent of the corn acreage will be put into legumes, most of which are used solely for soil building purposes.

Extension campaigns should be started to eliminate marginal acres, marginal methods, marginal cows, marginal sows, and marginal men. In all of this efficiency should not be stressed so much as the control of production. It is the duty of state and federal governments to recognize the present overproduction of wheat and pork products as related to the post-war reversal in credit balances. And, recognizing this, the state and federal governments should throw all the force of their educational agencies on the side of farm practices looking toward fewer acres in cash crops, more acres in soil building crops, and a more sensible agriculture from a long time, world point of view.

Chapter IX

THE RELATION OF ECONOMIC STATUS TO THE STANDARD OF LIFE

In considering the relation of economic advancement to rural progress the question has been raised as to whether there is a tendency for farmers below a certain minimum or above a certain maximum of economic status to have less interest in social welfare, or whether social welfare is most promoted by those in median circumstances who are striving for improvement. From the fact that many of those who have made large financial success in commerce or industry have not exerted any significant influence for social welfare, the question arises as to whether the better farmers who have achieved a relative economic success are most influential in promoting social welfare.

The standard of life of the farm family seems to be the best measure of this relation between economic success and social welfare. As defined by Dr. Kirkpatrick the term standard of life includes not only the "level of living", the variety, amount and quality of economic goods consumed annually by the farm family, but also the "objectives, aims and ideals of the family in regard to its living." In the first paper Dr. Kirkpatrick analyzes the relation of economic status to the level of living in terms of goods consumed, and shows that there is a close correspondence between them. Dr. Mumford, on the other hand, considers the amount and use of leisure time, reading matter and schooling as indices of the standard of life, and shows that they are clearly related to economic status. His study of the careers of Master Farmers leads him

to believe that agricultural leaders come from the ranks of those who are economically successful. May it not be possible that only those who have attained a certain economic success in farming can afford to lead in those activities for the common welfare which require much time?

Dr. Taylor approaches the problem from a different angle and shows that where there is a considerable difference of economic status between a few of the more prosperous and the mass of the people who are living on a low income, as in tenant-cropper areas in the South, social progress is very difficult. He believes that "something approaching economic and social equality between families of the rural community is essential to the group task of raising the rural standard of living."

It is interesting to note in connection with the discussion in Chapter XVIII that both Drs. Kirkpatrick and Mumford hold that although there is a concomitance of economic success and a higher standard of life, that the latter is not the product of the former, but rather one of its essential conditions.—D. S.

THE EFFECT OF MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM ECONOMIC STATUS ON THE STANDARD OF LIFE

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The question of the effect of minimum and maximum economic status on the standard of life is rephrased for convenience in terms of the question, "Does advanced economic status mean a higher standard of life for the farm family?" In attempting to answer this question one runs at once into other questions, such as, What level of living does the farm family enjoy? What part of the family living is furnished by the farm? How is the value of all the economic goods used distributed among the principal groups of goods? Is the level of living determined by economic status

or is the standard of life, involving the objectives, aims and ideals of family living, the dynamic factor influencing the economic status?

A clear conception of the principal terms involved in the questions raised is essential. *Level of living* as here used means the variety, amount and quality of economic goods consumed annually by the family. The level of living is measured most effectively in terms of the distribution of the value of the goods used among the principal groups of these goods. The most worth while satisfactions in life come from the use of non-material goods, known as cultural, that is, educational, recreational, and so on, provided, of course that the needs for food, clothing, shelter and other material goods have been met.

The distribution of the value of goods is usually expressed in terms of the percentages of proportions that the values of the principal groups of goods are of the value of all goods. The distribution of the total value of goods involves several questions. What percentages are the values of foods, clothing and rent of the total value of goods used during the year? Similarly, what percentages are the values of operation goods, health maintenance goods, advancement goods, and personal goods of the value of all goods used? How do these percentages change, that is, increase or decrease, with variations in the incomes which are available for family living?

The results of a general study of the cost of living among approximately 12,000 workingmen's families of 92 localities throughout the United States, about 1918,[1] show that as the family income, and consequently as the total value of all goods used increases, a larger proportion of this total value is for purposes other than food, rent, fuel and light. On the other hand, as the income rises the proportion going for the so-called necessities falls noticeably. Results of an earlier study of the cost of living among 11,000 workingmen's families of the principal industrial centers of 33 states, about 1902,[2] show the same trend, except that the pro-

[1] Cost of Living in the United States, Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, August 1919, p. 119.

[2] Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Food, Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903.

portion for rent remains almost constant as the income rises. The results of the recent studies of the cost of living of 2886 farm families, by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, show practically the same trend as the results of the two studies made among laborers. In general then, higher levels of living possible from higher incomes mean higher percentages of the total value of goods devoted to furniture and furnishings, to the maintenance of health, and to advancement, including education, reading matter, church support and recreation.

Further analyses of the data for the 2886 farm families referred to above show that the percentage of the total value of all goods devoted to advancement increases more noticeably than do the percentages of the total going for goods filling the more material uses. Since this is true and since advancement goods are less material in nature and cover a wider range of uses than any other group of goods, the percentage of the total going for advancement is regarded as a significant index of the distribution of goods used and therefore as an index of the level of living.

Standard of life as here used refers to the objective, the aim, the ideal of the family in regard to its living. It embodies the cultural aspect, the desires and the demands arising through education and through experiences within local and other groups.

Economic status means the liquid assets available for family living purposes. Unfortunately no complete measure of economic status is available in this connection. Partial measures which should prove of interest here are the value of all goods used annually for family living purposes, size of farm operated and length of time the farm operator has been a landowner.

An indication of the relation between economic status and the level of living is apparent in Table 1 which is descriptive of the levels of living among farm families of selected localities in eleven states, as determined by the survey method. Economic status is on terms of the total value of all goods used for family living purposes.

The proportion of the total value of goods devoted to food decreases from 54.4 per cent to 30.7 per cent as the average total value rises from $486.10 to $3,778.60 per family, Table 1. The

TABLE 1.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF GOODS, PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL FAMILY LIVING FURNISHED BY THE FARM, AND SIZE OF HOUSE, BY STEPS OF INCREASE IN TOTAL VALUE OF GOODS USED DURING ONE YEAR, 2886 WHITE FARM FAMILIES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN 11 STATES, 1922-1924.

	Groups of Total Value of Goods Used										
	Below $600	$600-$899	$900-$1199	$1200-$1499	$1500-$1799	$1800-$2099	$2100-$2399	$2400-$2699	$2700-$2999	$3000 and over	All value groups
Number of families	58	280	579	614	492	332	196	116	83	136	2886
Average size of families (persons)	3.0	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.8	4.8	5.3	5.4	5.7	6.2	4.4
Average size of household (persons)	3.3	3.6	4.0	4.5	5.1	5.3	5.9	6.0	6.5	7.0	4.8
Average value of all goods, $	486.1	778.6	1055.0	1338.9	1639.3	1932.4	2240.1	2529.4	2854.0	3778.6	1597.5
Proportion of total for food, %	54.4	52.1	47.6	45.3	43.0	39.8	37.2	36.2	33.6	30.7	41.2
Clothing, %	11.6	11.9	12.6	13.8	15.1	15.4	15.8	15.5	16.0	16.4	14.7
Rent, %	12.5	11.6	13.0	12.7	12.2	13.5	12.6	12.3	13.1	10.9	12.5
Furniture & furnishings, %	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.3	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.5
Operation goods, %	13.2	14.1	14.2	13.6	12.9	13.3	13.5	13.6	12.4	12.5	13.3
Maintenance of health, %	2.1	2.6	3.0	3.5	3.4	9.9	4.6	3.8	6.7	4.8	3.8
Advancement, %	1.9	2.7	3.6	4.4	5.5	6.3	7.5	9.8	9.7	13.4	6.6
Personal, %	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.8	2.6
Insurance, life & health, %	.5	1.2	1.6	1.8	2.6	2.5	3.1	3.3	2.9	4.5	2.6
Unclassified, %	.0	.1	.0	.2	.1	.1	.3	.2	.1	.1	.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of living furnished, %	55.6	52.9	48.9	46.3	44.0	42.1	39.5	38.2	38.1	31.7	57.2
Proportion of living purchased, %	44.4	47.1	51.0	53.7	56.0	57.9	60.5	61.8	61.9	68.3	42.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Size of house, rooms per household, no.	4.4	5.4	6.2	6.6	7.0	7.5	7.9	8.2	8.2	8.6	6.8

proportion for clothing increases quite regularly from 11.6 per cent to 16.4 per cent with the increased value of all goods used. Similarly, the proportion devoted to advancement goods increases from 1.9 per cent to 13.4 per cent. The proportions for the maintenance of health and for insurance increase somewhat irregularly. The proportions for the remaining groups of goods remain about the same or vary without regard to the rise in the average value of all goods used.

The proportion of all family living provided by direct purchase shows a marked and a rather regular increase from 44.4 per cent to 68.3 per cent with the rise in the average value of all goods. Roughly, over half the family living is furnished by the farm, without direct purchase with families using less than $600 worth of goods in comparison with about three-tenths furnished with families using $3,000 or more than $3,000 worth of goods per year.

In general, the suggested relations between economic status and the level of living, Table 1, is substantiated by the results of a similar study of 861 farm families of selected localities of Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas.[3] Some of the relationships indicated by each study may be attributed to variation in the size of family or household. It seems probable that both the number and the ages of individuals composing the family may bear a definite relation to the level of living.

But the suggested relationship between economic status and the level of living is based on the assumption that economic status is measured in terms of the total value of goods used for family living purposes. Let us examine further the data for the 2886 farm families, using size of farm (acres operated) and years of farm ownership as indicative of economic status, Tables 2 and 3. Only owner families are represented in these data.

There is evidence of a fairly close relation between the size of farm operated and the level of living, Table 2.

The percentage distribution of the value of goods among the principal groups shows a marked, irregular decrease in the proportion for food, with increased size of farm operated. The percentages devoted to advancement and to all other purposes show fairly

[3] United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin 1382.

TABLE 2.

RELATION OF ACRES OPERATED PER FARM TO THE VALUE PER FAMILY OF GOODS USED DURING ONE YEAR AND TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THIS VALUE AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS. FARM FAMILIES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN ELEVEN STATES, 1922-1924. OWNERS.

Acres per Farm, Totals	Families reporting	Size of family	All goods used			Average value of				
			Total	Furnished by farm	Purchased	Food	Clothing	Rent	Advancement	All others
Number All	Number 1767	Persons 4.4	$ 1703	$ 725	$ 978	$ 678	$ 253	$ 225	$ 124	$ 423
Less than 25	83	4.5	1347	578	769	641	217	144	60	285
25– 74	336	3.9	1382	602	780	594	201	175	79	333
75–124	506	4.2	1542	676	866	631	222	212	102	375
125–174	359	4.6	1726	743	983	691	259	234	122	420
175–224	152	4.5	1882	807	1075	731	300	249	137	465
225–274	125	4.7	2113	850	1263	779	316	273	204	541
275–324	82	4.3	2066	807	1259	742	314	266	200	544
325–424	57	5.0	2305	960	1345	828	333	321	207	616
425–524	30	4.7	2290	953	1337	843	322	275	255	595
525 & over	37	4.7	3086	1170	1916	981	434	408	304	959

PERCENTAGES THAT THE AVERAGE VALUES OF ALL GOODS FURNISHED BY THE FARM AND PURCHASED AND OF THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS ARE OF THE VALUE OF ALL GOODS USED.

All	1767	4.4	Pct. 100.0	Pct. 42.6	Pct. 57.4	Pct. 39.8	Pct. 14.8	Pct. 13.2	Pct. 7.3	Pct. 24.9
Less than 25	83	4.5	100.0	42.9	57.1	47.6	16.1	10.7	4.4	21.2
25– 74	336	3.9	100.0	43.6	56.4	43.0	14.6	12.6	5.7	24.1
75–124	506	4.2	100.0	43.8	56.2	40.9	14.4	13.7	6.6	24.4
125–174	359	4.6	100.0	43.1	56.9	40.1	15.0	13.6	7.0	24.3
175–224	152	4.5	100.0	42.9	57.1	38.9	15.9	13.2	7.3	24.7
225–274	125	4.7	100.0	40.2	59.8	36.9	15.0	12.9	9.6	25.6
275–324	82	4.3	100.0	39.1	60.9	35.9	15.2	12.9	9.7	26.3
325–424	57	5.0	100.0	41.6	58.4	35.9	14.4	13.9	9.0	26.8
425–524	30	4.7	100.0	41.6	58.4	36.8	14.1	12.0	11.1	26.0
525 & over	37	4.7	100.0	37.9	62.1	31.8	14.1	13.2	9.8	31.1

TABLE 3.

RELATION OF NUMBER OF YEARS OPERATOR HAS BEEN A FARM OWNER TO VALUE PER FAMILY OF GOODS USED DURING ONE YEAR AND TO DISTRIBUTION OF THIS VALUE AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS. FARM FAMILIES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN ELEVEN STATES, 1922-1924. OWNERS.

Number of years the operator has been a farm owner	Families reporting	Size of family	All goods used			Average value of				
			Total	Furnished by farm	Purchased	Food	Clothing	Rent	Advancement	All others
All	Number 778	Persons 4.7	$ 1736	$ 756	$ 980	$ 738	$ 265	$ 180	$ 138	$ 415
Less than 2.5	44	4.1	1298	568	730	612	201	141	51	293
2.5– 7.4	145	4.6	1510	662	848	650	232	171	95	362
7.5–12.4	128	4.7	1575	732	843	724	216	153	86	396
12.5–17.4	105	5.2	1887	814	1073	807	304	193	144	439
17.5–22.4	92	5.3	1861	832	1029	779	300	192	159	431
22.5–27.4	70	4.9	1963	821	1142	783	320	201	223	436
27.5–32.4	79	4.5	2061	838	1223	810	309	204	204	534
32.5–37.4	42	4.1	1771	719	1052	726	278	186	158	423
37.5–42.4	45	3.9	1896	831	1065	773	278	213	176	456
42.5 & over	28	3.4	1557	732	825	711	196	146	144	360

PERCENTAGES THAT THE AVERAGE VALUES OF ALL GOODS FURNISHED BY THE FARM AND PURCHASED AND OF THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS ARE OF THE VALUE OF ALL GOODS USED.

All	778	4.7	100.0	43.6	56.4	42.5	15.2	10.4	7.9	24.0
Less than 2.5	44	4.1	100.0	43.8	56.2	47.1	15.5	10.9	3.9	22.6
2.5– 7.4	145	4.6	100.0	43.8	56.2	43.0	15.4	11.3	6.3	24.0
7.5–12.4	128	4.7	100.0	46.5	53.5	45.9	13.7	9.7	5.5	25.2
12.5–17.4	105	5.2	100.0	43.1	56.9	42.8	16.1	10.2	7.6	23.3
17.5–22.4	92	5.3	100.0	44.7	55.3	41.9	16.1	10.4	8.5	23.1
22.5–27.4	70	4.9	100.0	41.8	58.2	39.9	16.3	10.2	11.4	22.2
27.5–32.4	79	4.5	100.0	40.7	59.3	39.3	15.0	9.9	9.9	25.9
32.5–37.4	42	4.1	100.0	40.6	59.4	41.0	15.7	10.5	8.9	23.9
37.5–42.4	45	3.9	100.0	43.8	56.2	40.8	14.7	11.2	9.3	24.0
42.5 & over	28	3.4	100.0	47.0	53.0	45.6	12.6	9.4	9.3	23.1

pronounced, somewhat irregular increases. The percentage for clothing shows a very slight tendency to increase with increased size of farm. The percentages that purchased and furnished goods are of the value of all goods remain almost constant or vary without regard to the size of farm.

The average number of persons per family remains almost constant as the average value of goods used rises with increased acreage per farm. From the standpoint of the individual this favors a still higher standard of living among families on the larger farms.

Some allowance should be made for the irregularities in connection with the largest size of farm group. This group includes several farms of more than 1,000 acres each, all of which may represent large amounts of capital invested and correspondingly large liquid assets available for family living.

There is also an indication of a fairly close relationship between the number of years the farmer has been a landowner and the level of living, Table 3. The average value of all goods used, increases fairly regularly up to 27.5—32.4 years of ownership, after which it decreases irregularly to 42.5 years and over. The percentage that the value of food forms of the value of all goods increases and decreases inversely. The percentages that the values of clothing and advancement goods form of the value of all goods vary slightly in the same direction as the value of all goods, the former less markedly than the latter. The percentages that the values of rent and of other goods form of the values of all goods tend to remain constant or to vary without regard to the years of ownership.

The average size of family varies in accordance with the average value of all goods used, as the number of years of farm ownership increases, the largest families (5.3 persons each) being supported during the 17.5—22.4 year period of ownership.

The trends of all averages in Table 3 are indicative of a close correlation between the number of years the operator has been an owner, the age of the farm operator, the number and ages of children per family and the level of living. This is to be expected since the earning power and the accumulative ability of the farmer

is usually on the upward trend until somewhere the age of 50. Similarly, the number of children and the age of children per family are usually on the increase until somewhere near the same age of the operator at about which age period of the operator the children begin to shift for themselves. Thus the demands for goods of family living decline with further increased ages and correspondingly longer periods of ownership of the operator.

In summary, economic status apparently bears a close relation to the level of living. Also, number and ages of the individuals composing the family bear a close relation to both the economic status and the level of living. Sufficient data are not available to determine the relation of economic status to the standard of life. If one accepts the apparent relationship between economic status and the level of living one is still confronted with the question of whether the level of living is accompanied or preceded by a correspondingly high standard of life. Advanced economic status can not result in high levels of living if rational desires, aims and ideals are lacking. The standard of life grows out of social participation, formal schooling, experience and group relationships. High standards of life and comfortable economic circumstances are both essential parts of the process of maintaining high levels of living.

If this statement be accepted as a thesis, the immediate problems are: (1) Determination of both minimum and maximum status on the one hand and definition of standard of life on the other hand and (2) study of the relative effect of each on the prevailing levels of living.

A series of well planned studies is needed immediately: (1) To determine the factors contributing to and shaping the standard of life of the farm family; that is, to discover the sources of the aims, objectives and ideals of farm family living, and (2) to ascertain how and why many farm families have attained and held tenaciously to high standards of life while others have been willing to stop when they had realized only a low standard of life; and (3) to interpret the effect of maximum economic status upon the standard of life reflected in the community.

RELATION OF DIFFERENT DEGREES OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS OF INDIVIDUAL FARMERS TO THEIR STANDARD OF LIFE

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This topic grew originally out of the feeling or notion that most progress does not occur among farm people who are below a minimum or above a certain maximum economic status, but is more pronounced among those who are in medium circumstances and who are striving for improvement. In the plan for this coöperative study the topic was stated in the form of questions, as follows: What is the effect of minimum and maximum economic status in agriculture on the standard of life, as compared with medium economic status? Is there a tendency for farmers below a certain minimum or above a certain maximum of economic status to have less interest in social welfare, or is social welfare promoted by those in medium circumstances, who are striving for improvement? For instance, does the latter class support the church and education more than either the lowest or highest economic class?

In this discussion interest in community welfare is regarded as one phase of the standard of life. The latter is the broader or more inclusive term. It includes several activities which are not generally regarded as belonging to the community type such as the standards of the family group, expressed in its traditions, its unity, mutual interests and ideals; in the degree of education of each member of the family and the degree of continuous educational advancement through reading and travel; in home conveniences and comforts and in beautification of the home and its surroundings; in the amount of leisure time spent in the home and the manner in which it is spent; in the appreciation of the specific values of country life, particularly as they pertain to the home and to the occupation of farming. Many of the compensations of farm people are to be found in these phases of their standard of life, in the degree of appreciation of the values which are peculiar to rural life such as the opportunity for the highest development of the

family, independence and security as represented by self-employment and self-direction, freedom from monotony in occupational activities, the great amount of outdoor life, the nearness to nature and the fascination of growing plants and animals with all their possibilities of scientific interest. The way in which the income is made gives many opportunities for the expression of the nature of the standard of life. This appears in such factors as pride in and enjoyment of high quality products and interest in the work particularly as determined by the degree to which science and scientific control enter into the farm processes. Such an interest in and attitude toward farm work means that the farmer is constantly growing in knowledge and skill and that he is receiving greater recognition from his associates and the public as a successful farmer all of which are of primary importance in a high standard of life.

The other phase of the standard of life of farm people is found in their interest in the organizations and institutions of their community and in the affairs of the larger world. This can be measured by the amount of time given to community and other activities and particularly by the degree of participation in such activities. These activities may be considered under general headings such as educational, economic, social, recreational, aesthetic, civic, and religious.

A scientific discussion of the problems involved in this topic requires a fairly accurate determination of the income of an adequate sample of farm people in relation to their standard of life as outlined above. Such a sample of the farm population ought to include the various types of farming in typical areas of all countries. However, that is not possible in this paper. Our discussion must be limited primarily to data from surveys and observations we have made in Michigan communities, including fruit, dairy, and general types of farming, data from biographies of Master Farmers in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, and surveys made in various states by other investigators. Incomes have been divided into three classes in accordance with the conditions of the topic, viz., incomes below average, above average and average. These various income groups have then been studied in relation to their standard of life as defined above.

For three communities in Michigan, representing typical fruit,

dairy and general farming areas, data have been assembled from surveys to show the relation of each of the three income classes to the amount of leisure time spent at home, away from home and in organizations; also to show their relation to education and to reading. The survey was conducted by the interview-schedule method. By leisure time here is meant time not given directly to occupational activities on the farm. Amount of leisure time and the manner in which it is spent are taken as among the more important criteria of the standard of life in relation to income. Leisure time as spent at home was classified under the following headings: reading, singing, playing of musical instruments, listening to phonograph and radio, writing, drawing and painting, playing of games, dancing and sociability. Away from home it was classified as: Sunday and evening visiting; automobile pleasure drives and trips to town; attending band concerts, theatres and moving picture shows, lectures and chautauquas, high school entertainments, sociables, family reunions, auction sales and fairs; playing games; dancing, hunting, fishing, camping, swimming, skating and coasting.

In addition to the activities at home and away from home, a special classification was made for time devoted to organizations as this was considered of primary importance as an indication of the interest of the different income classes in occupational and community welfare and, also, as having a high value educationally and in the training of leadership. The term organization is used here to denote a formally organized group having the usual officers and committees and meeting more or less regularly. The organizations studied are as follows: educational, fraternal, economic, professional, social, recreational, civic, and religious, including the church and its auxiliary groups and the Y. W. and Y. M. C. A.

The two other criteria of the standard of life, for which data are given, are the average number of farm papers taken by each farm income group and the average years of schooling. These data have been tabulated only for the men. Surveys made by the United States Department of Agriculture show that the farmers themselves place a high value on the farm paper and undoubtedly as a stimulus and as a source of information it is closely related to

income and to the development of those desires and interests which enter into a high standard of life. The amount, character and influence of other types of reading as they bear upon this problem will be found in the other surveys referred to in this paper. Data on the average number of years of schooling for each income class are also being given as one indication of their educational attainments and of their interest in the educational activities of the community.

The data relating to these different criteria of the standard of life and interest in community welfare are given in the tables which follow. Table I gives the data for 166 farm owners and their wives in a community where fruit growing is the principal farm enterprise. Leisure time in all the tables is expressed in the average number of hours for each income class for a period of one year, 1925-26.

TABLE I,[1] COMMUNITY A (*Fruit Area*)

MEN

Income Classes	Number Persons	Average Leisure Hours at Home	Average Leisure Hours Away from Home	Average Hours in Organizations	Total Leisure Hours	Average Number Farm Papers Taken	Average Years of Schooling
Below Average ..	28	221	361	15	597	1.8	6.3
Average	106	514	478	39	1031	2.2	7.0
Above Average ..	32	874	626	99	1599	2.5	8.8
All Classes	166	540	487	46	1073	2.2	7.3

WOMEN

Below Average ..	28	231	289	25	545		
Average	106	548	399	50	997		
Above Average ..	32	947	537	117	1601		
All Classes	166	571	407	59	1037		

[1] The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance given him by Professor J. F. Thaden, Department of Sociology, Michigan State College, in the collection and tabulation of the data in these tables; to Miss Margaret Cawood, Field Worker in Sociology, for collection of data in Table I; and to Superintendent G. H. Burt, for collection of data in Table II.

In this fruit area, which is believed to be fairly typical of fruit areas of Michigan, it is clear that the men in the highest income class not only have the greatest number of leisure hours but that they have almost four times as many leisure hours for their home life as the lowest income class, nearly twice as many leisure hours away from home and that they give more than six times as many hours to the organizations upon which the welfare of the community depends. Only to a less degree the same relation holds when comparing the highest income class with the average. The same general trends are found in the comparison of the leisure time of women of the different income classes. It will also be noted that the members of the highest income class take more farm papers than either of the other classes and presumably they read more extensively. Those in the highest income class also have higher educational attainments in so far as these can be measured by years of schooling.

TABLE II, COMMUNITY B (*General Farming Area*)

MEN

Income Classes	Number Persons	Average Leisure Hours at Home	Average Leisure Hours Away from Home	Average Hours in Organizations	Total Leisure Hours	Average Number Farm Papers Taken	Average Years of Schooling
Below Average ..	19	568	629	27	1224	2.5	6.9
Average	72	643	625	38	1306	2.6	8.2
Above Average .	26	725	938	65	1728	2.7	9.4
All Classes	117	649	695	42	1386	2.6	8.3

WOMEN

Below Average ..	19	613	521	40	1174		
Average	72	651	504	42	1197		
Above Average ..	26	762	774	81	1617		
All Classes	117	670	567	50	1287		

Community B including data from 117 farm owners and their wives is typical of general farming areas in Michigan and in the main shows the same general relationships with reference to the

three income classes as in Table I. Exceptions to the general trend are found for both men and women for the two lower income classes in relation to number of hours away from home. However, in both cases the highest income class has the largest number of leisure hours. The exceptions are probably due to the small number of cases in the lowest income class. The trend for the average number of farm papers taken and for the years of schooling is the same as in Table I.

TABLE III, COMMUNITY C (*Dairying Area*)

MEN

Income Classes	Number Persons	Average Leisure Hours at Home	Average Leisure Hours Away from Home	Average Hours in Organizations	Total Leisure Hours	Average Number Farm Papers Taken	Average Years of Schooling
Below Average ..	18	593	756	43	1392	2.3	6.1
Average	73	777	711	44	1518	2.4	8.0
Above Average .	49	912	953	86	1951	3.1	9.2
All Classes	140	800	801	58	1659	2.2	8.2

WOMEN

Below Average ..	18	600	600	57	1257		
Average	73	760	651	63	1475		
Above Average ..	49	943	774	102	1799		
All Classes	140	804	687	76	1567		

In Community C, including a study of 140 farm families, dairying constitutes the principal farm enterprise. This community is located on one of the main roads of the state, has a larger town center than the other two, more strong organizations and a higher percentage of high school and college graduates. The influence of these factors seems to account for the differences among these communities so far as represented in the tables. It will be noted that in general the same relationships exist between the different income classes as in the other two tables. One exception occurs in the leisure hours away from home of the men but that is with reference only to the two lower income classes. Again, the upper income

class makes a much better showing with reference to these criteria of a high standard of life and interest in community welfare. The test of indirect contacts as based upon amount of reading matter is also in favor of the highest income class, as are the years of schooling, thus conforming to the relationships set forth in the other two communities.

TABLE IV.

COMBINATION OF DATA FOR COMMUNITIES A, B, AND C.

MEN

Income Classes	Number Persons	Average Leisure Hours at Home	Average Leisure Hours Away from Home	Average Hours in Organizations	Total Leisure Hours	Average Number Farm Papers Taken	Average Years of Schooling
Below Average ..	65	426	548	27	1000	2.2	6.4
Average	251	631	588	40	1260	2.4	7.6
Above Average .	107	855	852	85	1792	2.8	9.1
All Classes	423	649	649	49	1352	2.5	7.8

WOMEN

Below Average ..	65	445	443	38	895		
Average	251	639	435	52	1029		
Above Average ..	107	891	743	97	1722		
All Classes	423	673	554	61	1052		

When the data for the three communities are combined giving four hundred and twenty-three farm families, it will be seen that the highest income class uniformly excels in all the criteria by which standard of life and interest in community welfare have been measured and that but one exception to the regular gradations from the lowest to the highest income groups appears and that relates to the number of hours of the women away from home and only with reference to the average and below-average classes.

Data and statements from other surveys in so far as they bear upon this topic should be added here. In the conclusion to their study of 402 farm families in Livingston County, New York, Kirkpatrick, Atwater and Bailey state that "the expenditures per cost consumption unit and the proportion devoted to advancement

both increase fairly regularly with the size of the farm business as measured in terms of acres operated, capital invested, and labor employed, and with the value of the house and its furnishings".[2] In their study of 861 white farm families in Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas, Kirkpatrick and Sanders show that the per cent of expenditures devoted to advancement increases both with the increase of the net worth of the farmer and with the increase in the annual rate of accumulation.[3] In his study of 2,886 white farm families of selected localities in 11 states, Kirkpatrick shows that the per cent of expenditures devoted to advancement increases with the increase in the number of acres operated per farm.[4] In so far as income increases with the increase in the number of acres operated, these data bear upon our topic. In his study of the standard of living of 451 Iowa farm families, Thaden says in his summary: "The following average conditions were found concerning families which have low standards of living, as represented by low percentages of their total household expenditures being devoted to various purposes of advancement.

1. They live on small farms, in cheap, inexpensively furnished houses, with few or no modern conveniences or facilities and which contain but a small library.

2. The education of the farm operator and homemaker and their children is limited. Their expenditures for formal education, reading matter, organization dues and contributions to the church and Sunday School are low.

3. Neither the operator nor homemaker is likely to hold membership in farm, fraternal, religious, or social organizations nor participate in their activities.

4. Their work days are long and unmixed with vacations or special trips. The local paper is their chief source of information on current topics.

The foregoing conditions are reversed, on the average, with fam-

[2] Family Living in Farm Homes, Bulletin 1214, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[3] The Relation Between the Ability to Pay and the Standard of Living Among Farmers, Bulletin 1382, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[4] The Farmer's Standard of Living, Bulletin 1466, U. S. Department of Agriculture, pp. 53-54.

ilies which have the highest standards of living, as represented by comparatively high proportions of total household expenditures being devoted to advancement." [5]

Data of a somewhat different character from the biographies of seventy-four Master Farmers in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio will be used to supplement that already given.[6] While in the case of the Master Farmers we do not have data from the two lower income groups for comparison, still the biographies of these leading farmers do show very clearly the relation between a high degree of financial success and the standard of life and interest in community welfare and, therefore, such data have a direct bearing upon the topic. The careful manner in which these farmers were selected places them, beyond question, in the highest income group in their respective states. Their standard of life in relation to home and occupation and in relation to the community, as outlined in the beginning of this paper, is very high. Their homes are modern in every respect, family traditions are noble and strong, often being important factors in the success of the particular member of the family who has won the great distinction of Master Farmer. These families also demonstrate clearly how the high degree of mutual interests and coöperative activities which tend to characterize the members of the farm family as compared with the city family give strength and unity to the former. In several instances the farm has been owned by the family for two or more generations and still more frequently the father and one of the sons are in partnership and the son plans to continue the work of his distinguished father.

In all instances educational attainments are high, the children usually being at least graduates of the high school and frequently of colleges and universities. The high standard of life of these farmers is further shown in the beautification of the home and its surroundings, and in the appreciation of the many values which are peculiar to the occupation of farming and to rural life. How-

[5] Thaden, Standard of Living on Iowa Farms, Bulletin 238, Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station.

[1] These data were gathered chiefly from issues of the *Prairie Farmer,* the *Michigan Farmer,* and the *Ohio Farmer,* which papers are sponsoring the Master Farmer Movement in these states.

ever, in not a single instance is the interest of these farmers confined to their home and to the farm but they are also members of several kinds of organizations in their community, county and state and they belong to and actively support a much higher number of community organizations than the average farmer. Moreover, they are not merely members of these organizations but are now or have been officers in several of them and have assumed much of the responsibility for their success. The organizations in which their names occur most frequently as officers, are state, county and local farm organizations such as Masters of the Grange, presidents or directors of the Farm Bureau, of the different kinds of organizations of producers, of coöperative marketing associations and of farmers' clubs; members of the board of education, directors of banks, officers in church and Sunday School, institute speakers and members of committees in the different phases of agricultural extension work. In many instances they have shown their real leadership in being pioneer advocates and supporters of progressive movements in their occupation and in their community and state. In order to make these statements about the Master Farmers as a group more real and concrete the following is taken from one of the biographies and was selected because it is typical of many of them: "Mr. A. has four sons and one daughter. The children have all had a high school education and have been active in boys' and girls' club work. The youngest son of 21 years is a junior partner with his father. Mr. A was lecturer of the State Grange for 6 years and is at present Secretary of the Executive Committee of the State Grange. He has been Secretary of the County Farmers' Institute and of the County Farm Bureau and a member of the Executive Committee of the Farm Bureau since this organization was formed. He is a member of the Board of Education for the Community High School and was active in the Liberty Loan drives during the World War."

The observations of the author based upon the experience of several years in agricultural extension and community work confirm the conclusions to which the data given in this paper have led. The men and women who have been most active in the farm organizations and in extension and community work in Michigan

have also been the most successful financially. For a period of fifteen years during which the author has been acquainted with them, most of these men and women have been actively identified with these movements and these leaders have developed with the movements until today they exercise a type of leadership and influence of which any occupational group might be proud.

In all these data on the relation of income to the standard of life and in our conclusions in this paper, it should not be inferred that because the highest income groups have the highest standards of life that, therefore, income is the only or even the main causal factor of these high standards. A further analysis of the data will show that there are two main causes combined in producing high standards of life; viz., heredity as expressed in such traits as intelligence and temperament; and the influence of association with others. It is quite probable that, in most of the cases of high income and high standards of life, native ability is above the average. In regard to the second factor, the data have demonstrated that in the upper income class there have been a high quality and quantity of associational contacts as expressed primarily in the number and kinds of groups to which the farmers of this class belong. Given good native ability and the stimulus, support and suggestions of groups with inspiring traditions, high standards and democratic activities, the individual will probably be unusually successful economically as well as educationally and in the other phases of life. Income, therefore, can hardly be regarded as a primary cause of the standard of life. This is also indicated by the fact that in most occupations there are many whose income is higher than their standard of life. On this point Kirkpatrick states in the conclusion to his study of 402 farm records in Livingston County, New York: "If size of business—in terms of acres, capital and work units—may be taken as an index of profits, apparently about half of the families studied should be able to raise their standard of life."[7] It is obvious that a certain amount of income is necessary for a high standard of life but given adequate

[7] Kirkpatrick, E. L. The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming, Bulletin 423, Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 109.

native ability, education and character and the individual will earn the income necessary to maintain a high standard of life. Whether he uses it in this way or not depends upon other factors than income.

In the data given in this paper no claim has been made that all or any of those in the highest income class have as high a standard of life as they might have. Our problem was primarily to determine which of the three income classes have the highest standard of life and the data seem to prove that it is those who have incomes above average. In regard to the question of the highest standards of life, the more recent studies in education and sociology indicate that such standards have their foundations in the preschool and early school periods of life and in adolescence. It is in these earlier years of life before earning ability has expressed itself that the habits of thinking and reading and especially the habits of participation and sharing in group life can best be built up and the desires, purposes and appreciations created upon which the highest standards of life must be founded.

The importance of these fundamental processes in the socialization of the individual as related to his economic life is very forcibly brought out in the fact that in the three communities from which data have been given in this paper, it was found that in a total of 531 farmers there are 136 Farm Bureau members and out of this number there are only 5 who are members of no other organization except the Farm Bureau; and of the 118 farmers who are members of coöperative marketing associations in these communities, only 3 belong to no other organizations. Since both the Farm Bureau and the coöperative marketing associations are comparatively recent and are primarily economic in character, it is evident that non-economic organizations have exercised a strong causal influence upon economic life and that farmers that have not been in the habit of working with their fellows in these non-economic organizations and have therefore not received this earlier stimulus and development could not be reached by these economic organizations when they were founded.

In so far then as these tests of the standard of life and interest in community welfare are valid and the data typical and reliable,

the evidence points clearly to the answer to the problem of this paper. That answer is that it is not the average income-group of farmers who have the highest standard of life or the greatest interest in community welfare but rather it is the farmers that belong to the highest income class. Moreover, the data also show that those farmers with the highest standard of life can and do compete successfully with farmers having lower standards and that the analogy of cheap money driving out dear money as applied to low standards and high standards of life does not hold. Those in the upper class not only have a higher income but they are able to earn this income in a shorter work day than the other classes, giving them more leisure hours at home, away from home, in organizations and for reading and other educational activities. They are thus using this time to good advantage both in self development and in community activities and through the stimulus and growth received in this way they are better prepared to cope with their economic problems. If it is to be a battle of the standards then the high standard ought to win and certainly it can, not only with lower standard farmers but also in the competition with other occupational groups, if consciously and collectively it makes its demands and works out its high aims and purposes.

EFFECTS OF DIFFERENCE IN ECONOMIC STATUS

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Any Wide Difference In Economic Status Among The Families Of A Farm Community Is A Handicap To The Development Of A High Standard Of Living. This is true for two reasons. First, because any wide difference in economic status tends to establish a recognized inferior group and recognized superior group. Second, the standard of living being a cultural complex, any wide breach in social status tends to slow up the assimilation of culture by the lowest status groups. The most extreme examples of the presence of these two influences are in the tenant-cropper sections of the South, in the hired-man sections, such as the beet, the truck and

berry areas, and in those sections that are heavily populated with Negro or foreign groups. In all of these sections, not only are the standards of living of those of inferior economic status low, but the rural standard of living of the whole area is generally low.

In one community of a Southern state the writer visited 53 farm homes one of which was an old plantation manor, another the residence of an owner-operator, and the remaining 51 the homes of negroes and white tenants. There was no lack of physical land assets in the community, but the standard of living of fifty one—fifty fifty-thirds of the families of the community was a slum standard.

In the "South Eastern Missouri" section, the writer and his colleagues made a study of 422 farm families. Of these only 41 families were owners. We discovered not only a very wide discrepancy between the standard of living of the great number of hired men families of the community and the standard of living of those who owned the farms upon which the hired men worked, but found also a wide difference between the standards of the hired men and that of resident owner-operators. In this community were five rural churches, three of them abandoned and the other two in a very bad state of disrepair. This is an exceedingly wealthy community but the wealth is reflected only on the standard of living of those who own the land and who, for the most part, live in the town of Sikeston.

The wide difference between the standards of living of Negroes and foreigners and the native whites of practically all rural communities where these classes live side by side is too well known to require the presentation of an example.

The Following Are Examples Of The Effect Upon The Rural Standard Of Living Of Wide Difference In Economic Status. The writer has attempted to make a comparison between the cultural status of a wide area in which the difference between the economic status of the classes of rural population are very marked and the nation as a whole. In practically the whole cotton and tobacco producing areas of the South there exists a very great difference between the economic status of various farm classes. In the nine cotton and tobacco states, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Vir-

TABLE SETTING FORTH ECONOMIC STATUS AND RESULTANT SOCIAL STATUS OF DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CLASSES IN TYPICAL TENANT-CROPPER AREA.[1]

	Operator Landlords		Owner Operators		Tenants		Croppers	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Equity per family	$14,494	$8,974	$3,998	$3,908	$886	$226	$352	$126
Equity per person	$2,750	$1,019	$889	$597	$177.4	$37.68	$72.15	$24.83
Per cent who are insolvent	0	0	0	0	6.5	28.5	24.2	18.75
Annual cash income per individual	$425.65	$226.81	$253.82	$253.03	$174.45	$118.51	$143.13	$125.64
Average number of rooms per home	5.6	3.8	4.5	3.8	4.2	4.0	4.1	3.4
Per cent of homes with running water	6.6	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	0
Per cent of homes with lights other than oil lamps	10.2	0	0	0	3.5	0	1.7	0
Per cent of home with kitchen sinks	10.2	20.0	0	0	1.3	0	0	0
Per cent of births at which doctor was in attendance	76.0	33.3	72.5	28.6	57.5	8.3	48.0	14.6
Per cent of parents who can read and write	81.8	80.0	80.0	90.0	86.5	35.8	70.8	42.3
Per cent of families who take papers and magazines	83.4	60.0	65.0	60.0	55.4	7.4	50.0	17.9
Average number of books in homes	15.2	0.8	1.4	20.2	2.69	1.5	2.24	0.6
Number of times members of family have participated in recreation during the year	3.04	.79	1.73	1.97	1.40	.25	.92	.88
Per cent of families who own automobiles	92.9	60.0	45.0	60.0	49.4	14.3	34.5	16.96
Per cent of parents in favor of consolidated schools, road bonds, college education, etc.	59.4	36.7	46.7	73.5	45.3	14.3	41.1	17.4

[1] Data from *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers.* Taylor, Carl C., and Zimmerman, C. C., Bureau of Economics and Social Research, North Carolina State College of Agriculture, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922.

ginia, there is circulation of only one newspaper for every 12.7 persons. The rate for the United States is one paper for 3.6 persons. Only 2.7 per cent of the rural homes of these nine states have gas and electricity. The rate for the rural sections of the nation is 7 per cent. The value of the farm buildings, which of course includes the house, for nine states is $853. For the United States as a whole it is $1,781. The rate of illiteracy for native whites over 10 years of age for these nine states is 5.9 per cent. For the United States it is 2 per cent. If foreign born and negroes are included it is 13.2 per cent for these nine states and 6 per cent for the United States.

A similar comparison was made for the outstanding tenant-cropper counties of the South. In all cases the inferior economic status of the tenants and croppers greatly reduced the cultural status of the communities as a whole.

The table above is too elaborate for complete analysis to be made here. The result of a wide cleavage in economic status is apparent in the social life of these people. The social cleavage between the different classes, particularly the landowner and the landless is almost complete.

In the Southeast Missouri community referred to above there is probably as sharp a difference between the standards of living of the various farm tenure classes as can be found in the United States, except in the tenant-cropper section of the South. In a community of 422 farm families only 41 families are owner-operators. The remainder are hired men, croppers and tenants. This is a rich, black land farming area. Some of the farm owners are ranked as millionaires. The vast majority of the tillers of the soil are living in squalor. About 20 per cent of the tenants, croppers and hired men live in one or two room houses. Not one of their homes has running water, gas, electricity or heating system. Over 5 per cent of the hired men's daughters marry as early as 14 years of age. About 10 per cent of these lower tenure classes are illiterate.

The whole community standard of living is low because of the very uneven distribution of wealth. The schools of the landlords who live in town, are splendid. Those in the rural areas are min-

imum. The churches of the landlords in town, are not only good but magnificent. Those of the county are decadent. Only 46 per cent of the rural dwellers ever attend church, according to their own statements, and only 25 per cent of them are church members. Over 28 per cent of the hired men families never visit with any one, not even other families of their own status, much less with those of higher economic status. This whole rural area constitutes a rural slum, not because it is not a prosperous agricultural area, but because there is present in it a maximum economic status group and a minimum economic status group.

Cultural Goods And Services Are Sacrificed When Economic Status Is Low. The normal distribution of expenditures for the average rural family [2] with an income of $1,640 is: food, 38.2%, clothing 15.6%; housing 18.7%; education 14.0%; recreation 6.0%; religion 3.5%. That is, 72.5 per cent is expended for food, clothing and shelter and the remaining 27.5 for health and cultural goods and services. When the income falls as low as $1,000 per year 92.8 per cent of all expenditures go for food, clothing and shelter. This leaves but 7.2% of $1,000 or $72 per year to be expended for health and cultural goods and services. The amount expended for cultural items when the income is $1,640 is $451 per year. Thus it is the cultural goods and service which are and must be sacrificed when income is low.

If there is a sharp difference between the economic status of families within a community there will soon be a well recognized difference between social status with the result of different handicaps in all community activity.

WHY A MEDIAN ECONOMIC STATUS IS BEST IN DEVELOPING A NORMAL RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

A Wide Diffusion of Wealth and Income Makes for a Wide Diffusion of Cultural Standards and Attainments. In communities where there are wide differences between the economic status of

[2] Data compiled from studies made in coöperation with the division of Population and Rural Life studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, New York, Alabama and Iowa. In the studies were included two thousand and thirty-two farm families.

different families of the community, one of two things generally results. Those who are most prosperous either move into the towns and participate in the higher standard of living that exists there, or they become landlords and exploit the lower income groups who till the soil.

There is always present in rural economy a competition between land values, town standards of living, and rural standards of living, for the economic gains of agriculture. Only that portion of the economic progress of agriculture goes into improving the rural standard of living which finds depository in the better homes, schools, churches, etc., which are built and supported in the open country or in small towns which serve the open country folk. That portion which finds depository in recapitalized land values accrues only to the ones who hold title to the land, and they, whether they become absentee landlords or remain in the county as large holders, reap the rewards of increased agricultural efficiency and so monopolize the social gains therefrom. That portion which is distributed through the channels of trade and commerce to middlemen and refiners accrues to the standard of living of the cities, where these middlemen and manufacturers live. Only that which is returned to the families who till the soil has any surety of enhancing the rural standard of living.

The Rural Standard of Living is a Community Standard and a Goodly Proportion of The Community Must Participate in it. There is no worthy rural civilization in those areas where great masses of the people are living on low income. In such areas as have been cited in this article, in the tenant-cropper areas of the South, and the hired-man area of Southeastern Missouri, the only semblance of a modern civilization that exists is in the county towns. The rural homes are shacks, 42,000 of them with one and two rooms in one southern state, the churches fall into decay and the schools are the minimum required by law. If the higher income groups still reside in the rural areas, the social distance between them and the lower income groups is so great that the processes of progressive socialization and culturization do not work. The families with little wealth and low incomes are not only handicapped in capacity to purchase that portion of their standard

of living which can be bought in the market place, but they are handicapped in their capacity to participate in a wholesome and wholehearted community life.

Culture is a group attainment and the standard of living is a cultural composite of goods, service, habits and attitudes. Something approaching economic and social equality between families of the rural community is, therefore, essential to the group task of raising the rural standard of living.

Furthermore, something approaching an equal status between farmers and other enterprisers is essential to developing a worthy and stable American civilization. A superior economic status on the part of farmers has always developed a landed aristocracy usually carrying with it a large rural peasantry. An inferior economic status, on the other hand, will develop either the community conflicts and handicaps depicted in this article or will cause the chief rural property holders to move to the towns and cities and thus accelerate our tendency to center all the social gains of modern civilization in urban centers.

Chapter X

HOW DO THE ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS OF POOR AGRICULTURAL SECTIONS AFFECT SOCIAL CONDITIONS?

The title of this section indicates that "Poorer Agricultural Sections" have "economic limitations". It is true that an equal amount of labor and capital applied to one unit of poor land returns a less valuable product than if applied to the better land. "Poorer Agricultural Sections" include a large percentage of marginal and submarginal land as compared to that in "Better Agricultural Sections".

There is a tendency for the poorer grades of farmers to occupy the poorer land and to use the poorer grades of equipment. The pull of low grades of land is downward and the pull of high grades of land is upward. Competition drives low grade farmers from the high grade land and society is the benefactor, since the most economical production is obtained by all grades of farmers when handling their corresponding grades of land. This is accomplished by obtaining the largest total production at the least cost per unit of production.

If the bounty of nature were always a blessing the most productive land yielding abundant crops at profitable prices would be entirely desirable and the most barren soils characterizing the poorer agricultural sections would have clearly defined economic limitations. But farmers as a group frequently sell a large crop for less money than a small crop. To the tillers of the soil as a group this puts a premium on the "niggardliness of nature". Does it follow, however, that

an individual farmer is better off who gets 15 bushels of corn per acre on marginal or submarginal land than the farmer who gets 60 bushels of corn per acre on supermarginal land?

It is to the interests of producers and consumers that marginal or better land be used to provide the food for an increasing population. Such utilization of land, through a series of years, provides returns approximating cost of production which means a subsistance wage to the operator and his family. If production involved the use only of marginal and better land, tilled by marginal and better grades of farmers, each farmer would be self-sustaining and no economic assistance would be necessary. But submarginal men working submarginal land which has been brought into cultivation results in maladjustments which adversely affect social conditions.

A scientific approach looking toward the amelioration of these economic limitations, is through the medium of a land classification survey which designates the most economical use of submarginal land which is now unprofitably tilled. Much of this land might be profitably used to grow trees to replace the depleted forests. A similar survey might be made of the submarginal farmers. A study of this man power might reveal that many who are attempting to operate farms might more profitably assume the rôle of employee.

The dependence of one economic group on another for prosperity might be called the economic law of common interests. Lack of prosperity is frequently due to the failure to recognize that the success of the individual and of the group is dependent on the prosperity of the community, the state and the nation. If the economic and social welfare of a city is promoted by insuring rural progress in its trade area such a policy is economically sound and socially desirable.

Wealth is measured in terms of goods and services. If a

Chamber of Commerce fosters in its trade area good agricultural practices, good schools, good churches, etc., it is at the same time enjoying pecuniary dividends as the result of good will and of increased and improved agricultural output; a social dividend in a more capable and hopeful country folk, many of whom will leave the farm and add their virile strength in replenishing the stock of city folk. The county, the state and the nation each has a responsibility and an opportunity in establishing an economic and social equilibrium between all economic groups.—O. G. L.

HOW DO THE ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS OF POORER AGRICULTURAL SECTIONS AFFECT SOCIAL CONDITIONS?

Richard T. Ely,

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Our general economic ideal is expressed in the words, "plenty and prosperity". If we are thinking of all economic classes and the general welfare, we cannot have prosperity, unless we have plenty. An abundant supply of economic goods and services, well distributed, is our goal.

It is quite possible that certain economic sections of the community or, indeed, geographical sections may enjoy prosperity, while others are undergoing privation. The present era is generally spoken of as one of great business prosperity. We have large production and the urban population was never more prosperous than it is at the present time. On the other hand, the agricultural population of the country is in many parts of the country in distress, and very generally the proportion of the national income enjoyed by farmers has declined markedly. The decline in values of property belonging to the agricultural population is striking. Statistics have frequently been given and will be doubtless found elsewhere in the present treatise. They need not detain us at the present time.

As our ideal is general prosperity we must seek the conditions which will give the farmers prosperity and at the same time we must not seek to bring about conditions so that the non-agricultural population may not participate in the prosperity of the country. Farmers might become very prosperous if it were possible to diminish arbitrarily and very considerably agricultural production. We can conceive a condition of things such that the non-agricultural population would have a very restricted diet and a restricted supply of raw materials generally, while the farmers would enjoy very great prosperity due to high price and small production. While certain city industries may have been successful in accomplishing this control in production we have to say in the first place that it is impossible for farmers to carry out such a plan of limitation in production, and in the second place that this is an unethical ideal. The urban population exceeds in numbers the agricultural population, and it is better organized and probably will always be better organized. We come again to this paradox: plenty means low prices; farmers are suffering from low prices. Abundance means low price. How can we have low prices and give prosperity to the rural community which is essential to the highest civilization?

The automobile industry affords a suggestion. The greatest prosperity that perhaps has ever come to any individual within a generation is the result of abundance and low price in this industry. The whole automobile industry is improving methods, lowering prices and bringing to vast numbers engaged in this industry prosperity. Wages are high and also profits.

The most outstanding feature in the automobile industry and in many other branches of manufacturing industries is the scrapping of poor material as well as improvement in all productive processes. The market widens out into large number of sales which means prosperity to producer and consumer alike with small margin in profit and low price.

One of the things needed in farming is indicated in the assigned title to this contribution to the study of social and economic factors in rural economic progress. The poorer agricultural sections are pulling down general prosperity, and those engaged in production in these poorer sections themselves are in no position to maintain

a desirable standard of living, and still less are they in a position to contribute to the higher cultural needs of the farming population and of the country as a whole. We find in the poorer sections all too frequently wide degeneration and demoralization. While there are exceptions, poor land is very apt to go with poor human material.

We are familiar in economics with the marginal concept which is fundamental in all sound economic thinking. We have marginal land, supermarginal and submarginal land. Similarly we have marginal men, supermarginal men and submarginal men. Those who travel extensively in regions where the land is submarginal find in too many cases submarginal men working on the land. These are not necessarily men who are submarginal in their general human faculties, nor would they necessarily be submarginal in other occupations; although they are in too many cases all-round submarginal men. The poorer agricultural land tends strongly to affect adversely and to pull down to a low level social conditions. We have here economic limitations of the poorer agricultural sections.

Turning from general considerations to individual considerations, one, who has traveled through great areas where submarginal land dominates, is saddened by the countless human tragedies that one encounters. Many a page could be filled with pathetic accounts of the people who have been located on submarginal land and who themselves may be far from submarginal. They are pulled down by the poorer agricultural sections.

This is not all that is to be said about the cultivation of the submarginal land. On this submarginal land production is carried on at a loss. We find people producing wheat on such poor land that they could not cover expenses even if wheat were three dollars a bushel. We find men producing potatoes, and in some cases rather large crops, where farming operations would be conducted at a loss even if potatoes were selling at two dollars a bushel. Now the unfortunate feature of the situation is that the production in the poorer agricultural sections is, after all, sufficient in amount to pull down prices and to make farming unprofitable for those who are working under better conditions.

The economic limitations of the poorer agricultural sections affect so adversely the general social conditions that we must regard them as fundamental. We must center about the considerations connected with poorer agricultural sections our plans for improvement. If we scrap the poorer land and confine production to the better land, we will have better human conditions as a result of general prosperity. If we get the good men producing on good land, then we can have prosperity of the farmer and general prosperity at the same time. Low prices and abundance will co-exist with a prosperous country.

To bring about this condition we need, first of all, a general economic survey of the land of the country. We have made many beginnings of such a survey. Soil surveys help somewhat, but are quite inadequate. The economic survey going on in Michigan is the best thing of the sort yet attained. If we put each kind of land to its best use, we eliminate the poorer agricultural sections, or, at any rate, very greatly diminish their extent. We lay the economic basis for a higher civilization. The economic foundation is not everything, but it is essential.

Let us notice that we need a balance within the field of land utilization and a balance between farming and other occupations. We find in the utilization of land lack of balance now. Some of the land which is poor for agriculture is good land for production of trees. We are using up our forests far faster than we are producing them. If we produce more trees and less wheat, we would help things very greatly. By taking out of agricultural use land which is at present price unsuitable for agriculture we would restore a better balance between agriculture and other occupations.

THE ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS OF POORER AGRICULTURE SECTIONS AFFECTING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

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From the days of Jacob until now food-producing land has played an important part in history. The size, location, habits, solidarity and influence of ancient groups were determined in the

main by the food-producing quality of land. And Dr. Ellsworth Huntington is only one of a countless number who believe geographic environment still plays a major rôle in the drama of social history.

Says Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin in his Principles of Sociology, "Society rests on land and people, so that, if either deteriorates, society sags, twists, or falls like a house when its foundation is breaking down. Behind some of the great tragedies of history we are just beginning to glimpse soil exhaustion. In the early Roman Republic, a four acre plot was deemed enough to support a family. But the allotments of the Gracchi were twenty acres, those of the triumvirs, thirty acres, those of Caesar, forty acres. Before the imperial period the scantness, of the grain crop, stood in such harsh contrast to the tales of older fertility that agricultural writers generally held the theory that mother-earth was approaching old age, and like an old woman, she had reached that point in her life when she could not bring forth. Columella recommends the vine, because in the greater part of Italy no one can recall when grain produced four-fold, that is four to six bushels to the acre, and he refers to entire Latium as a country where only imported food kept the people alive."

Today in America, thanks to vast stretches of exceedingly fertile soil, to applied science, and to efficient transportation, our land problem is not a matter of producing food enough for the total population. Nor is it likely to be that for generations yet to come. Our problem, sociologically considered, is the proper utilization of certain sections and the economic status of those who produce our food.

To make the problem, as I see it, stand out more clearly, let me express it in terms of some relevant questions. What factors should be considered in determining what land is poor, and what land is not poor? Land altogether too poor for wheat, corn and oats, may be admirably suited to poultry, dairying, or orcharding. How much and what land should be cultivated? A contemporary forester insists that a majority of the states should each purchase immense tracts of land and withhold them from cultivation; first, to provide forests for future generations; secondly, to aid agriculturists

by reducing the total acreage of tillable land. How much and what quality of land should be given to urban residences and to non-agricultural purposes? There was a time when it was seriously feared that the growth of cities and the multiplication of roads might bring about a shortage of food-producing land. Shall all farmers have economic returns equal to those enjoyed by persons of similar abilities and desires in other occupations? One way, we are told, to bring this about is to reduce the number of farmers, which would probably mean the final abandonment of the poorer agriculture sections. Are there non-economic compensations attending agriculture? We frequently hear that there are. If so, how can they be isolated for indubitable recognition and evaluation? And do they obtain in the poorer as well as in the more fertile sections?

Intelligent and satisfactory answers to all of these questions are involved in any adequate consideration of the economic-sociological phase of our land problem. The subject of this paper places a limit on its length and thereby prevents an attempt to answer all of the above questions. The writer shall, however, have in mind all these questions as he proceeds.

By the poorer agriculture sections we mean those tracts of land which are not productive of bountiful crops, or encouragingly profitable for grazing, land from which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the ordinary farmer to make more than a meager livelihood. That there are millions of acres of this kind of land in the United States, as agriculture is now practised, is a fact well-known to all informed persons.

The economic limitations of these sections manifest themselves in many and varied ways. Not infrequently they produce a succession of results, each of which is more serious and unalterable than the one preceding it. For example, a young married couple of average ability and normal outlook, by purchase or inheritance comes into possession of a farm in one of these sections. Small crop yields prevent making desired and needed improvements, such as buildings and fencing; the absence of these improvements prevent the keeping of livestock, which results in the soil becoming less fertile. With the soil in the process of depletion, it is next to

impossible to find sale for the farm at a satisfactory price, so they remain on the farm, and wittingly or unwittingly commit themselves to a form of peasantry. The writer knows of a case or two where it would have been both wise and profitable for the owners of such farms to have moved away without selling or renting and thereby escaped falling into the clutches of the vicious cycle outlined above. But the instinct of ownership and that "eternal hope" in human breasts prevent such a step being taken by many families who once acquire a farm in even the poorest sections. The impoverishing influence of some land is illustrated by the following story. An automobile party stopped at a farm home, and after a birds-eye view of things a member of the party exclaimed, "How poor the folks must be who live here!" The farmer was in an old building within hearing distance, and with disturbed emotions he came out and said, "I would have you know we are not as poor as you think we are. We only own half this farm".

That the economic limitations of poor land produce results which affect social conditions can be convincingly pointed out. Social conditions are children of social institutions. And like real children, they sometimes come unasked for and with unexpected and irregular characteristics. But whatever social conditions obtain in a community can be accounted for by the absence or presence somewhere of certain social institutions or agencies. "There is a reason", we are told, for everything. Bad moral conditions in any locality are, more frequently than not, due to wrong or inferior home standards, to wrong or inefficient educational, religious and recreational programs, or to the absence of any influence from these quarters. In the words of Professor E. R. Groves of Boston University, "The history of each day is for the most part the result of our many contacts with our family, friends, neighbors and fellow workers." For every delinquency in individuals there is somewhere a related delinquency in a social institution. We are beginning to see that the value of homes, schools, churches, libraries, playgrounds and other social institutions to society is to be determined by their influence upon the daily conduct of the persons served by these institutions. The application of this yardstick has caused these institutions to be more highly valued when effi-

cient, and more severely criticised when inefficient and unproductive of good results. It has also caused thoughtful persons more seriously to deplore the absence of these institutions anywhere in the world.

But social institutions come not as sunshine and showers, without the expenditure of effort and money on the part of those whom they serve. And like nearly every modern good they cost increasingly. And with rare exceptions the money that goes into these institutions so greatly needed by human society and of such unmistakable value to those whom they properly serve represents accumulated or surplus wealth. It is this fact which justifies many in holding that surplus wealth is one of the prime requisites to advancing civilization; yea, that without surplus wealth there would be no civilization. Be that true or false, it is patent that those families whose every dollar must be used for food, shelter and clothing, cannot make financial contributions to the founding or the maintenance of social institutions.

Now it may not be true that the families in the average poor agricultural community need every dollar for basic necessities, but it need not be argued that there are a limited number of dollars available for such institutions as the school, church, library, playground and other "higher life" agencies. It is also true, as was indicated in our reference to the vicious cycle that it usually happens that the amount of money available for things not absolutely necessary decreases rather than increases in these poorer agricultural sections. If anyone reading this paper doubts this, let him go to any of our many poor sections and study facts first hand. If the vicious cycle is avoided by better farming and soil conservation, it will be initiated by the advent of children and the approach of old age.

If the only results of these economic limitations were the inability to support the much-needed social institutions, that in itself would be serious. For it is doubtful if any community without effective schools, churches and other higher life agencies can in these days of growing complexities long hold its own, to say nothing of making progress. But it is conceivable that the problem might be solved by doing everywhere in these sections what is

now being done in a goodly number of places—take money from more prosperous communities and give to these poorer communities good schools, churches, libraries and other social agencies. The writer doubts, however, that this will yield the results some of the most generous and good-intentioned social workers expect. The biological factor involved is not being given adequate consideration. It does not seem reasonable that society should count on capable and ambitious young people going into these sections to start upon an agricultural career. The economic advantages of the better sections are too obvious to them. Convincing facts show that the young people of superior ability who are born in these poor sections leave at their earliest opportunity. With folk depletion operating simultaneously with soil depletion and economic handicaps the writer fails to see an improved future notwithstanding the kindly assistances of outside agencies. Blood counts for more than philanthropy. One probable solution lies in the introduction of some new and more profitable utilization of this so-called poor land. In all this discussion we refer, of course, to the least productive in the poor sections.

Next to surplus wealth the thing most necessary to provide effective social institutions and to enable families and communities to enjoy the benefits of these institutions is leisure. And, Heaven knows, there is little enough of this in most of our agricultural sections; but it is even more rare in the poorer sections where additional effort is expended to compensate for missing fertility and inferior and inadequate machinery and other equipment. Sirach of old must have had these sections in mind when he wrote:

> "The wisdom of the scribes cometh by opportunity of leisure;
> And he that hath little business shall become wise.
> How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,
> That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
> That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
> And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?
> He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;
> And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder."

Last, but not least, is the influence of these ever-present economic limitations on the psychic side of life. Happiness and optimism are largely dependent upon pleasant thoughts and associations, and these are not brought about by being constantly aware of economic

insecurity. A friend of the writer, never heavily endowed financially, recently went through a period of extreme economic depression. Said he, in describing his feelings during this period, "from now on I shall know precisely how a tramp feels toward the world and his more fortunate fellowmen." To be long without money or the power to obtain the things one always wants and thinks he ought to have produces a sort of whipped-dog attitude, which is far from stimulating.

This condition is frequently described as "the inferiority complex" of certain rural people, something which affects women and children more seriously than men. Here are the words of one farm woman:

"The farm woman does feel this inferiority. She feels this inferiority because she feels incompetent. When she takes an old skirt and makes it into a good looking dress for her child she feels she amounts to something. But just the same we must somehow, sometime, get rid of inconveniences, or this feeling of amounting to something will be only temporary.

"We must do two things: give folks some means to overcome the difficulties they have and teach the children to respect themselves no matter what their surroundings are. On the other hand, we must overcome the disadvantages of farm life, or, as the generations follow one another, we shall slip back into the same feeling of discouragement. We must have *better economic conditions* and general education to entirely overcome this feeling of inferiority."

THE ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH WORK [1]

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COMMUNITY INTERESTS IN PUBLIC HEALTH

Among community interests none is more important than public health, and among community liabilities none more serious than

[1] Extracts from an address on "Health in Relation to Citizenship in Urban and Rural Communities," read before the section on Preventive and Industrial Medicine and Public Health of American Medical Association, June 27, 1925, Atlantic City, N. J.

preventable sickness. The community welfare is definitely dependent upon man's productivity, and this in turn is invariably influenced by the state of his health. If the community is to prosper, maintain high social, economic, and intellectual standards, and otherwise meet its opportunities and responsibilities, it must include among its major activities measures for the preservation of health and the prevention of disease. This principle has been accepted by the more progressive urban communities, and is rapidly gaining acceptance in rural communities. Experience, moreover, is teaching the wisdom of employing competent professionally trained personnel, of paying reasonable compensation, and of making tenure secure where merited. It is teaching also that an adequate expenditure in this field wisely administered will yield large returns.

COST OF COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICE

Although in a few small towns and counties a health officer and a nurse constitute the personnel and render satisfactory service, it is advantageous to have as the minimum personnel a health officer, a nurse, a sanitary officer, and an office assistant; and all except the office assistant should have an automobile. Such a unit under ordinary conditions can be financed with ten thousand dollars and allow something for supplies, printing and contingencies. It will serve reasonably well a fairly compact population of 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants, assuring that the roads will permit the use of cars the year around. This means roughly a per capita cost of fifty cents, or where property values are reasonably high, a half mill yearly tax for health purposes. In area and population the health district can be enlarged without appreciable increase in overhead expense, by increasing the number of nurses and sanitary inspectors. In this way the per capita, or mileage cost, is lowered. This principle has led to a marked tendency toward the formation of large health units involving the pooling of resources of the county with the larger towns of the county, and in some instances two or more small counties have combined their resources. It is customary for the state and local health authorities to share the cost of the work. The basis varies with the state of development of state and local

health work, with the economic situation and other factors. A fixed scale in a single state is not as a rule uniformly applied.

THE HANDICAP OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

The valuation of the property of a unit of population, say 20,000, in the average sparsely populated rural area is much lower than is that of a corresponding urban unit. Moreover, the rural wage scale is usually low compared with the urban scale. The health officer or nurse because of distance and bad roads will consume as much time in serving one rural family as in serving several urban families. In the urban community there is telephone service, streets are paved, houses are located close together, and a minimum of time is consumed in travel.

The same economic handicap exists in rural communities in connection with schools and highways. In matters of health, education, travel, recreation, and social intercourse, the rural citizen has found himself and family subjected to more restricted facilities than is his urban neighbor, the amount raised will be insufficient to give him facilities approaching those enjoyed in the city. We know the results too well. The producer of cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, sheep, cattle, poultry and other food supplies and raw materials has moved to town. The thinly settled community becomes more sparsely settled. The maintenance of community activities, in the fields of health and education for example, becomes more difficult. The process has led in many sections to the virtual abandonment of large areas of productive land, and elsewhere the rural situation is a source of alarm.

FOR THE URBAN COMMUNITIES

Our cities and towns have enjoyed rapid growth. They are the industrial centers. The majority of the immigrants coming to this country yearly go to them, and not to the farms. Those who have been producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured products in the back country are being attracted to them. Urban wages are high, community activities of every character are generously financed and although the aggregate cost is

large, the relative cost to the individual is low because of the concentration of wealth and population. The trend cannot continue indefinitely without dire consequences.

We are approaching a situation which will challenge our right to claim we are a self-contained nation. Our urban and industrial centers can not continue to thrive without growing sources of foods and raw materials, and unless growing markets for manufactured products are found. The urban community must consider the question of whether it will permit its own areas of rural support to be abandoned and place reliance for supplies and markets on foreign countries or whether it will aid the back country to establish and maintain community advantages sufficiently attractive to hold the present population and draw a fair share of newcomers. In peace as in war, there can be no doubt about the wisdom of developing our own country as a whole. We should produce foods, raw materials and manufactured products in excess of our needs, and although we should be the chief consumer, the surplus should serve as the basis for foreign trade. To rely entirely on foreign countries for food and raw materials or for markets for our manufactured products would probably prove disastrous to our present urban standards of living. In obtaining markets for manufactured articles it would mean sole dependence upon competition with the cheap labor of other countries. The urban citizen should not forget that his welfare is largely dependent upon his rural neighbor, and that he has a vital interest in his welfare.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COST OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES OVER LARGER POPULATION GROUPS

If the prosperity of the city is dependent upon the welfare of its back country, and no one can doubt it, it would seem to be advisable to establish and maintain a balance between urban and rural communities in economic, social, educational, health and recreational conditions. Temporary preference or advantage might very well go to the rural communities. The present unwholesome rural situation should be corrected as early as practicable.

In several states a partial solution of the problem has been

found, in connection with the development of schools, roads, and health work. The state has been adopted as the larger unit throughout which community facilities are equalized as far as practicable. The local political units whether city, town or country, continue to apply the principles of local government by levying and collecting taxes on an equitable basis. The state also levies taxes for similar purposes. It does not return to each community the exact amount it pays, but distributes the funds on a plan designed to equalize facilities. In schools, for example, minimum standards as to length of term, qualifications and compensation of teachers, character of school houses, etc., are established. If after the community has paid its assessment, its funds are insufficient to provide a school having the minimum standards the state offers contingent aid to stimulate local effort.

To what extent the principle should be applied I am unable to say. Certainly the situation merits thorough consideration. As an illustration of the problem under consideration, take the coastal counties from Virginia to Texas. With the exception of those having seaport or large towns they are as a rule poorly served with transportation facilities. The areas of swamps and cut-over timber lands are extensive. The population is comparatively sparse, the land values relatively low, and malaria and other diseases are so serious as to repel rather than to attract new settlers. The per capita cost of controlling the malaria mosquito, and of other community services by the community alone is prohibitive. In some localities the control of malaria mosquitoes, according to estimates, would cost more than the market value of the area protected. It is claimed it would be cheaper to move its occupants, and give them land elsewhere. Does the state wish to abandon its malarious territory, or would it be willing to cede it to another state? If not, should it not aid its citizens residing there to establish conditions which will permit health and prosperity. The soil is fertile, and if the people are given healthful conditions, transportation, educational and recreational facilities, the coastal counties would be attractive to those now there and to others looking for homes. With increased density in population and more favorable economic conditions they would become self-supporting and a real asset to the

state. If the Nation's population is to increase as predicted by our statisticians, the reclamation of farming land as a means of supplying foods should be hastened and living conditions on the farm should be made attractive. Of course, it is appreciated that, as economic necessity requires there will be corrective measures. It would seem advisable, however, to face the situation early and deal with it in an orderly manner, and avoid the dangerous conditions which might accompany a sudden or violent adjustment. The Nation's best interest calls for an equalization in health, welfare services, and other social advantages between urban and rural communities.

HOW DO THE ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS OF THE POORER AGRICULTURAL SECTIONS AFFECT SOCIAL CONDITIONS?

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INTRODUCTION

In presenting this topic for discussion the Joint Committee further outlined the subject by asking the following questions: "Should the State attempt to furnish equal opportunities for education, health, communication, etc., to people in the poorer agricultural districts, and if so should it not limit the occupation of lands which are far below the margin of profitable production?"

This is a very important topic, there are many angles to it, and the writer has given it considerable study; such being the case, the difficulty immediately appears as to how the subject can be adequately covered in the limited space at his disposal. To meet this situation he has decided to present an *outline* of the topic only, without commenting on any of its various phases.

The outline will be presented under three heads, as follows:

1. The problem—the social effects of poor agricultural areas. In presenting the outline under this head the writer will simply mention the various effects which his investigations have found in *some* of the poor areas. All of these deleterious effects are not

found in any one area, but in some of the poorest sections a very large number of them are to be seen. (Unfortunately, several of these pathological conditions are to be found also in some of the richer agricultural areas; the point that is made here is *not* that these symptoms are found only in the poor sections, but that they are so frequently found in the very poor areas as to be a fairly accurate description of conditions in many of them.)

2. Arguments which have been advanced for State aid in giving rather complete equality of social opportunities for the poorer regions.

3. The arguments which have been advanced against such an attempt by the State.

In presenting the outlines under the last two headings the writer will not have space to give his own opinion of the relative value of each point made, but will leave to the reader such evaluation of the points presented.

I. How Do the Economic Limitations of the Poorer Agricultural Sections Affect Social Conditions?

1. Population:
   - (1) The population is scattering and sparse, which:
     - a. Lessens social contact
     - b. Causes long distances between schools
     - c. Makes consolidation of schools difficult
     - d. Makes high per capita cost of schools
     - e. Makes high per capita cost of roads
   - (2) Population necessarily must remain sparse, thus the boys and girls must go a long way from home for profitable employment.
   - (3) The rural exodus is great from these regions, thus breaking up homes, and often causing the girls and boys to get into trouble in the city.
   - (4) Refined and efficient people will not readily move in, hence these regions often lack good leadership.

2. Characteristics of the People.
   - (1) Lack of ability to travel makes the people awkward in society, in speech, acts, and movements.
   - (2) Fakers find readier listeners in these areas.

(3) The people are ignorant and more easily controlled by corrupt politicians.
(4) Lack of ideals causes low standard of living.
(5) There is a great deal of intermarrying of relatives, due to lack of wide acquaintanceship.
(6) Law enforcement is often difficult.
  a. These areas act as harbors for inefficient, weakminded and criminals, thus damaging nearby regions.
  b. Lack of observance of game laws, etc.
  c. Lawlessness, moonshining, and feuds are often found.
  d. The people are sometimes largely ignorant of government operation and laws.
(7) Illegitimacy is very frequently found.
(8) Laziness and inefficiency are prevalent.
(9) Families are larger than elsewhere. Poor education causes low standard of living and ignorance of control measures.
(10) Poor people get onto the poor land—hence these are the inefficient. Many are feebleminded.
(11) People often have very little political influence to secure needed legislation.
(12) Patriotism is sometimes low in such regions.
(13) Send poor representatives to govern the county, to the state legislature, etc.
(14) Coöperation with improvement agencies, such as county agents, is not readily given.
(15) The people are dissatisfied with things as they are, and such a condition is dangerous to our government.
(16) The people and especially the children, are often looked down upon by people of other regions.

3. Living Conditions:
(1) People sell their best products and consume what they cannot sell.
(2) Food is often very poorly cooked and prepared.
(3) Ration of people and especially the children is often not properly balanced.
(4) Outhouses are often poor or none at all.
(5) Poorly constructed houses, drafty in winter.
(6) Houses, barns, fences, etc., are unpainted, causing them to be unattractive and to deteriorate.
(7) Home conveniences are few and crude, causing:
  a. Hard labor for women.
  b. Lack of recreation for women.

(8) Clothing:
  a. Often insufficient
  b. Of poor quality
  c. Ill-fitting
(9) Living rooms poorly lighted and ventilated.
(10) No pictures of esthetic value on the walls.
(11) Farm equipment is scant, causing:
  a. Hard labor
  b. Inefficient labor.
(12) Owing to unsatisfactory home conditions the children leave home before they get an education—and also before the age of discretion.

4. Labor Conditions:
(1) Women have to work in the fields.
(2) Children are overworked:
  a. Early child labor required.
  b. Have to work too hard.
  c. Lose time out of school to work.
(3) Greater effort required per unit of product—hence rewards of labor are low.
  a. Wage scale is low.
  b. Long hours required.
(4) Workers are very inefficient due to ignorance, to improper diet, and to lack of machinery.
(5) The men are often lazy and shiftless, and depend on the women and children for their support.

5. Education.
(1) Poor school houses:
  a. Inadequately heated;
  b. Poor seats;
  c. Not properly lighted.
(2) Schools have no libraries, laboratory facilities, manual training facilities, toilets, water supply, etc.
(3) School grounds often have no shade; and generally are not landscaped.
(4) People often so poor they cannot buy school books.
(5) People know little of the world.
(6) Knowledge of current events is very limited.
(7) Application of science is almost unknown.
(8) But little interest taken in education.
(9) Parents are unable to educate girls well and hence,
  a. When the girls go to the city they must take menial jobs and frequently become prostitutes.

b. And when the boys go to the city they are unable to earn as much money as the bright lights cause them to want and they often become criminals.

(10) Teachers do not provide leadership, as they are poorly trained themselves.
(11) Cannot pay for efficient teachers.
(12) Level of business ability lowered by lack of education and travel and reading.
(13) Illiteracy is high with all its ill effects.
(14) Pastures are poor and but little livestock often kept—livestock have a civilizing influence.
(15) But little purebred livestock to act as stimulus.
(16) Children seldom have a chance to get a college education.
(17) Very little incentive or inspiration for the young people who live there, unless they get a vision of the outside world.
(18) A vicious cycle takes place—small education, small profits, small improvement of land, low taxable values, and hence poor schools.

6. Health.

(1) People cannot take proper care of health, due to poverty.
(2) Children often stunted due to improper diet and hard work.
(3) Children go barefoot and sometimes get hookworms.
(4) Pellagra often found in both old and young due to inadequate diet.
(5) Epidemics are hard to control there.
(6) People do not realize seriousness of disease and hence do not take adequate precautions.
(7) Greater exposure to weather, resulting in sickness.
(8) No mosquito bars for children.
(9) Houses not screened.
(10) Houses too small for adequate sleeping quarters. This causes not only ill-health from respirational diseases but is an environment of familiarity which naturally leads to prostitution.
(11) Improper ventilation for sleeping.
(12) The water supply is often contaminated and is very seldom protected from such contamination—it usually comes from springs and shallow wells.
(13) Do not gain knowledge of how to preserve health.
(14) High infant mortality rate.
(15) Adequate medical aid not available.
(16) Adequate dental aid not available.
(17) There are no medical specialists in such regions.

(18) Cannot pay for medical attention when sick—doctors, nurses, hospitals, etc.
(19) No hospital facilities near at hand.
(20) People never have periodic, competent health examinations.

7. Churches.
(1) Church services infrequent, often only once per month.
(2) Churches are inadequately heated, have poor seats, and very unattractive interior.
(3) Poorly trained preachers.
(4) General religious spirit is low, and aften a surly attitude prevails.
(5) Church grounds not attractively landscaped.
(6) No continuous religious activities by a resident pastor.
(7) Often no Sunday School, young people's meeting, or prayer meeting.

8. Financial Conditions.
(1) The cost of production is high because of:
a. Machinery little used because of poverty.
b. Small rough fields.
c. Power is inadequate, (small horses, etc.)
d. Yields are low.
This results in a very narrow margin of profit and hence in a low standard of living.
(2) The people have no reserve capital to fall back on in case of emergency.
(3) Soil fertility is not maintained—farmers not able to finance it.
(4) Tax rate is high and large share of income must go for taxes.
(5) Often cannot pay poll tax and hence cannot vote.
(6) The people cannot accumulate a fund to provide for:
a. Travel.
b. Educating children.
c. Old age.
(7) Many old people have to go to the poorhouse in later years.
(8) Insurance usually not carried—hence dependents thrown on charity or left very poor.
(9) Fire, accident and hail insurance is seldom carried.
(10) Buying power of farmers is low and this causes merchants and other service agencies to operate on a small scale and hence charge high prices.

9. Lack of Appreciation for the Finer Things.
   (1) Little appreciation of good books.
   (2) Little appreciation of nature.
   (3) Little appreciation of art.
   (4) Little appreciation of good music.
   (5) Good books and good periodicals are few.

10. Recreation and Luxuries.
   (1) Poor recreation facilities.
   (2) Social activities are crude.
   (3) Children deprived of many of the proper joys of childhood.
   (4) No toys for children.
   (5) People can have but few luxuries.
   (6) Prostitution is often the result of inadequate recreational facilities of a wholesome nature in poor regions.

11. Service Available to the People of the Section.

   Many of the service agencies supplied by a good sized prosperous town to its adjacent area are either not available at all, or of very poor quality.
   a. No market for by-products of a perishable nature, hence no income from them.
   b. Market reports not quickly and readily available.
   c. Libraries are few and small.
   d. These counties seldom have county agents, home demonstrator, or health unit.
   e. County agents do little work in the poor areas of a county—do not get response from the people.
   f. Poorer *type* of lawyers, teachers, preachers, etc.
   g. Banking facilities are inadequate and often far distant.
   h. Public buildings are of poor construction.
   i. Telephones usually party lines and often do not have outside connections.

12. Facilities for Travel.

   Means of travel are limited:
   a. Automobiles are few and of poor quality.
   b. Railroads—often a branch line or none at all.
   c. Highways—almost always of very poor quality unless the state aids.
   d. Bus lines are few and with infrequent service, unless the region is between two towns.
   e. Electric railway lines are seldom found, unless the area is between two cities or towns.

13. Community Progress.
    Such communities make very slow progress or none at all, without outside aid, because of:
    a. Lack of information.
    b. Lack of ideals.
    c. Lack of travel.
    d. Lack of initiative.
    e. Lack of financial means.
    f. Community organizations are greatly retarded due to lack of education and vision.

II. WHY THE STATE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO GIVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH, ROADS, ETC., TO PEOPLE IN THE POORER DISTRICTS.

1. Characteristics of the People In the Poor Areas.
   (1) People in most poor areas are nearly all native white (few negroes or foreigners), while richer districts have many negroes.
   (2) The purest Anglo-Saxon stock is found in the poor rural districts of the South. These people have wonderful potentialities, if given an education. It is sometimes said that "in the future they may prove the salvation of the nation."
   (3) If all the people were taken away from the poor rural areas to the towns and cities, the increase in the population of the state would be greatly retarded, because families are smaller in the cities. In the country is where most of the children are being reared. The cities should therefore support the country as a breeding ground for its future citizens (larger families there). It is held by some authorities that the native stock would soon die out if only the city population were left.

2. Buying Power.
   (1) Larger buying power in their trade territory helps the cities very greatly. The buying power of a territory is increased by:
   a. Larger earnings of the people.
   b. The people not being so easily victims of grafters.
   c. Better transportation facilities.
   d. Better health of the people.
   (2) From a purely selfish motive the business men of a city

should favor helping poor sections of their trade territory in education, roads, health, etc.

3. Taxation.
   (1) The raw products of poor regions are manufactured elsewhere, and tax values are lost to the poor regions. They should get their share of this tax money.
   (2) There is just as much justice in covering a wider area (a state) for taxation purposes as there is in covering a county. Tax money should be used to give all people an education, roads, health services, etc.
   (3) The government compels the individual to pay school taxes in proportion to his wealth regardless of whether he has children or not. The same principle would compel a group of wealthy individuals (a city or rich agricultural area) to pay in proportion to their wealth to educate other poorer groups' children.
   (4) Farm property is about all there is to tax in a poor county. If farmers in a poor county must raise all taxes for all purposes in that county it puts an undue burden on them. Farm property is not very productive, and at the same time is all visible for taxation. Thus farmers very frequently pay an unduly large percentage of their income in taxes, at best.

4. Influence of Poorer Regions on Other Regions.
   (1) Districts adjoining the poorer districts cannot escape the bad influence of the lower standards in the poor area, and unless progress is made in the poorer regions the progress of the rich regions will be retarded. "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link," and if we are to have a unified, progressive, and powerful state we must take care of the poorer sections.
   (2) A very large percentage of the prostitutes and criminals in the towns and cities come from homes where educational advantages have been meager.
   (3) Poorer regions are part of the state and if they do not progress the progress of the *state as a whole* is necessarily held back.
   (4) We do not live for ourselves alone and what benefits other people benefits us. We are a part and parcel of every person we come in contact with from the cradle to the grave. As some poet has said:

"There is a destiny that makes men brothers,
None goes his way alone;
And all that you send into the lives of others,
Comes back into your own."

(5) Improvement money should be spent where it will do the most good—and the weakest point is most easily remedied.

5. Educational Opportunities.

(1) It is to the interest of the cities to educate the children of the poor region, for many of them will be citizens of these cities in the future. These children will later lower both the business and social standards of the city if not educated.

(2) Education, etc., may eventually make these poor areas self-sustaining. There are nearly always some successful farmers in each poor district, and if others were educated they too would become successful, thus making the area prosperous.

(3) If the children of the poor regions are educated they themselves will become self-supporting by one of three ways:
a. By increased efficiency in that region.
b. By moving out to a more productive section.
c. By a change in occupation.

(4) The children of the poor areas are naturally of fair intelligence and many of them will develop into successful men if educated. (Poor people are on poor areas, but many intelligent people are there also, and besides some children will inherit traits of their ancestors).

(5) Educating the people in the poor sections develops some leaders, thus giving the state more and better leadership.

(6) Many native geniuses are born in these regions (mechanical, artistic, etc.), but without education they are lost to the world.

(7) The state should furnish agricultural experts to study out and solve the problems of the poorer agricultural sections, and help the people of these areas get on their feet.

(8) The fundamental principle of the free school system is to give all the people an education, not just the wealthy people.

(9) In court the county or state pays an attorney for a poor man unable to pay one. Why not give him social opportunities also when he cannot pay for them?

(10) By educating the people in the poorer regions their earning

power is increased; hence their future tax payments will be also increased and this will help the state.

(11) Criminal tendencies are more likely to be repressed when people are educated. Development of a higher mentality curbs the animal instincts;
   a. The individual represses them in himself.
   b. Educated neighbors repress them in individuals.

(12) Education will cause people to take more interest in county agent and home demonstration work and to profit by it.

(13) Education discourages laziness, unthriftiness, and harmful surroundings.

(14) Education lowers the necessary expenditures for:
   a. Jails.
   b. Courts.
   c. Penitentiaries.
   d. Poorhouses.

(15) The people of the poor sections want the privilege of helping in the improvement of the state, in the same way that other people do. Education gives them a chance to do this.

(16) Wealth is the direct product of intelligent action (education); hence education for all the people is a good investment for the state as a whole to make.

(17) The richer people are dependent on the poorer ones as laborers; and these make better workers if educated.

(18) In a democracy where all people have equal vote it is very important that people be educated well. The welfare of the state depends on all the people. A very large part of some states is poor. People in poor areas have a vote and send representatives to the legislature, etc. Since we have so many people living in poor areas their influence is large, and it behooves the other sections to educate them in self-protection.

(19) Good schools, roads, etc., will help break down the social barrier between people of these poor regions and those of other regions.

(20) Rich and poor people in a *county* share alike in school facilities. The same principle logically applies to poor areas in a *state* as a whole. A logical separation of the state into counties, based on economic and social relationships, has not been done by present county lines—in fact it would be very hard to do. Take the metropolitan area of a city—the city should help educate all the people in

that area just as it helps educate all the people in the slum districts.

(21) People of a poor region really need more education to be good citizens than do people of rich areas, for they have harder problems to solve.

(22) The people of the poor areas show eagerness for education, where schools are provided.

(23) These regions are now being drained of population by people moving out to educate their children—the leaders go, leaving the areas without adequate leadership.

(24) Many of these citizens are soon to become residents of the cities, and if they are educated they will make more useful citizens for the cities. Hence, cities will be well repaid for the cost of educating them.

(25) If as many people went from city to farm as from farm to city it would be more fair for each to pay for educating its own children. But since more go from farm to city the city should help educate those in the country who are to spend their productive lives within the city limits.

(26) Unless good educational facilities are provided for them these poor regions will get further and further behind. The poor economic position will result in poor schools and this in poorly trained people—and so the cycle will continue. On the other hand, the rich sections will have good income to provide good schools to provide well trained people who will increase the income further, etc.

6. Highway Facilities.

(1) In poor areas with poor roads we find:
   a. Much bad liquor made.
   b. Children do not attend school.
   c. Wild game killed out of season.
   d. Streams are dynamited to kill fish.
   e. Criminals hide out.
   f. Quarantines are not enforced.
   g. Crops are not inspected for pests.
   h. Diseased stock not properly disposed of.

   All the above affect each of the adjoining counties.

(2) Building good roads through poor regions connects up the richer areas, thus helping the latter.

(3) Good roads mean tourists coming in, who will bring many new ideas and cause the region to advance.

(4) Good roads increase productive value of the lands, thus raising the tax paying capacity of these areas.

(5) Good roads mean produce gathered will operate, thus increasing productive value.
(6) Good roads mean better mail service and thus people are advanced.
(7) Better roads enable the people to get to town often bringing their produce, and:
a. They get inspiration and information.
b. They bring products to town which cheapens living for those in the cities.
(8) Good roads all over the state are a good advertisement for the state as a whole.
(9) Roads will make these sections more accessible and more prosperous by enabling the people to take up the type of agriculture for which they are best adapted.
(10) Good roads mean a saving in transportation expense to the people of the towns, for the products they get from the poor regions.
(11) Saves waste, for good roads enable farmers to market perishables, thus increasing the wealth of the state.
(12) Summer and winter resorts are sometimes found in these regions and hence a good road serves a double purpose.
(13) Some of the most beautiful scenery is along roads in poor agricultural districts.
(14) Good roads permit law enforcement, and prevent seats of lawlessness from continuing.
(15) Good roads and schools will open the eyes of people of the poor areas to outside opportunities and thus cause some of the marginal people to move out to other centers.
(16) Good roads bring in more R.F.D.'s and thus improve the mail service.
(17) People outside the county benefit from roads and schools and should help pay for them. Take the matter of roads; a large city is perfectly willing to help pay for roads in the county in which it is located, why not also in adjoining counties?
(18) These regions are too poor to build the necessary local roads themselves, hence it is a good investment for the state to build them there; and the poor counties cannot build their part of cross-state highways without state aid; it is only right that these latter should be state built, anyway.

7. Health Opportunities.
(1) The state should control outbreaks of contagious disease in poor areas, and thereby protect other sections as well,

for if the people of such a region have malaria, typhoid, etc., they will scatter it to their neighbors in adjoining counties.

(2) The state should control contagious animal diseases in the poor districts, and thus protect other sections, also.

(3) With an adequate health service children in the poor areas will be more healthy, and thus:
   a. Will not spread disease into other areas.
   b. Will be more efficient workers when they go to the city.

(4) The state should keep the people of the poor districts healthy for economic reasons also, because:
   a. They are better farmers.
   b. They will pay more taxes.
   c. The people will take more interest in the state's welfare.
   d. There will be less economic loss due to early deaths.

(5) Factories do not like to locate where health conditions, schools, and roads are bad. The state wants factories to locate in the poor regions, and hence should provide the above incentives.

(6) Doctors and dentists are not staying in poor regions with poor roads. If the people are to have these health services they must have good roads.

(7) Housing conditions are very poor and food is inadequate. Hence the need for the health service is greater than in rich areas.

8. Other Reasons for Providing Equal Opportunities.

(1) To create greater loyalty to the state.

(2) To discourage the leadership from leaving the poor sections.

(3) The towns owe their growth to the raw products produced by the people in the poorer regions—hence are under moral obligations to these regions.

(4) Most arguments against such assistance are based on selfishness. For humanitarian reasons we should care for those unfortunately situated.

(5) Gifts to charity are in reality an attempt to partially equalize opportunities for those inadvantageously situated.

(6) There will be less waste of natural resources.

(7) "A man cannot live for himself alone," and neither can a rich county do so.

(8) These inefficient people are better off where they are than they would be in the city. They are "somebody" in their native land, but would be slum dwellers in the city. At the same time the city is wise to partially support them in

the country, as they often become criminals when they get to the cities.

III. Reasons Why the State *Should Not* Attempt to Furnish Equal Opportunities In Education, Roads Health, Etc., to People of the Poorer Sections.

1. Taxation.
   (1) Since tax money is limited it should be spent where it will do the most good, namely on the best class of people and these are almost always found in the richer areas. As Galpin says, the sub-marginal area is "the land of machines with broken handles, of people with misfortunes, the country of the lame, the halt, the blind."
   (2) Schools and roads are not taxpayers, and *too much* money should not be taken from taxpayers and put into those uses—it lowers the supply for production purposes; and also lowers tax revenues for the state as a whole.
   (3) People of the richer areas pay more taxes, and it is only right and just that they should have better schools, roads, etc.
   (4) It would lower the standard of improvements in the better areas, as their tax paying power is limited. It is simply a leveling process, necessarily bringing the richer sections down.
   (5) It would discourage progress in the rich areas, due to a higher tax rate there.
   (6) Such a program usually calls for larger expenditures by the poor counties themselves to meet certain requirements, and many of the people of many of these areas are unable to pay higher taxes than they now pay.

2. Settlement of Poor Districts Not Needed.
   (1) Much poor land that is not now being cultivated would be settled upon, to the disadvantage of all farmers by increasing the crop surplus. Some people will farm if they can exist at it, and if the state furnishes these free advantages too much of the marginal land will be farmed.
   (2) The giving of these advantages would tend to increase the rural population of these regions; but we do not believe in permitting weakminded people to increase in numbers, because they become burdens on society. Should not the same principle apply to people who insist on staying on these poor lands and thus becoming burdens on society?

(3) In these regions the population is sparse, and hence few would use such schools and roads if they were built.
(4) The population of these regions is and should be decreasing, and hence their schools and roads should not be planned for an increase in population. They are adequate for the proper size of population now.
(5) These lands will not be abandoned so long as we subsidize the farmers who operate them. The people now move down into the richer areas to get to good roads and schools —but if we provide these in the poor counties they will remain there.
(6) These regions should be put to forests. We need the timber but not the farm products produced on these marginal lands. These lands are better suited to timber than to farming. Let the people move out and do something else and let the lands grow up to timber.
(7) It is a good deal like society irrigating a lot more land in the West, and putting farmers on it, the government paying most of the expense, when such lands are not needed—the principle is the same.
(8) Many of the people who want and will use these better advantages now move out anyway to other regions. That is what all should be encouraged to do, because—a. the agricultural industry would be much better off without these districts being farmed; b. inhabitants of these regions would probably do better for themselves elsewhere; hence it is no favor to them to encourage them to remain there; and c. society as a whole would be better off if these people moved out and took up other occupations.

3. Effect on People and Communities.
(1) It would be giving the inhabitants of the poor areas something for nothing and people do not value the things they get in this way. "We get out of anything about what we put into it"—that is, people have to work for what they get before they appreciate it.
(2) It would discourage initiative and the self-help instinct.
(3) Many people of the poorer districts are lazy and shiftless and do not work hard and try to save in order to have these advantages without outside aid. Such help would still further encourage such people in idleness and to spend their money uselessly.
(4) People often stop trying to help themselves when others begin to help them.

a. Wealth easily obtained has a demoralizing effect.
b. The more people are helped the more they expect to be helped.
c. This support once given they would expect it always to continue.

(5) People of these regions can provide roads, schools, etc., which meet their actual requirements themselves, and this:
a. Makes them more self-reliant.
b. Develops initiative.

(6) There are many things that the people of these areas could do for themselves at no expense to society, but they have not the intelligence and initiative to do so and since the ignorance of the people would prevent the expensive facilities provided by other areas from being utilized, the money furnished by other districts would thus be uneconomically used. It would be poor economics to spend much money on these districts, as the returns will be so very low.

(7) The most inefficient class of farmers are now found on the poor sub-marginal lands. But farming is not a suitable occupation for the inefficient, as it requires more initiative and business ability than they have. Such persons should work in gangs where there is someone to direct them. Hence these people should not be encouraged to continue at farming. Both their families and society as a whole will be benefited by their moving out and taking up another occupation.

(8) The law of diminishing returns works in these improvements, and the returns begin to diminish more quickly in poor areas; hence smaller amounts should be spent.

(9) Land prices would go above productive value.

(10) Poor districts would soon let these improvements go down to ruin if they were given to them free of charge—in other words a *perpetual subsidy* of these regions would be necessary to keep the facilities in operation.

(11) This scheme tends to be socialistic.

(12) In communistic communities where all share alike regardless of amount produced, the ambition of all classes is lessened. This proposition would tend to have the same effect, being as it is a *communistic* arrangement for all people of the state.

(13) It sets a precedent of discrimination in favor of a certain economic group.

(14) It puts a premium on improvidence.

(15) This is a question of public policy, and if we commit ourselves to it we are headed for a long list of other things of this kind, which would be detrimental to society.

4. Education.
   (1) Ignorance causes the people of the poor areas to revolt against the school laws and health regulations, when modern methods are attempted there; hence they do not take advantage of good schools and health facilities when they are provided for them:
      a. Returns from lands are low; hence more labor is required per $100 in returns. This results in many poor families keeping their children out of school to work and not taking advantage of long school terms when provided.
      b. Many of these people do not now take advantage of the facilities of church schools, etc., when these are provided free and near at hand.
      c. Not many would go to college even if the best of elementary schools were provided.
   (2) If education by means of county agents and home demonstration agents were furnished the poor counties free they would not use it to advantage—actual trial shows this to be true.
   (3) Population is so sparse that good schools at frequent intervals are very expensive per pupil—better have only a few centralized schools.
   (4) Putting schools, etc., in these areas is wasting money, as the people could do better in other areas and should not be encouraged to stay in the poor sections.
   (5) A system of scholarships has been suggested to provide for the unusually bright children from each poor county, these children to be sent to schools elsewhere, rather than trying to provide good local schools in all communities.
   (6) It would be cheaper to give free tuition, etc., elsewhere and let even all of those who would attend school in those poor regions go elsewhere to school than to provide an expensive school system for these poor areas and then have it only partially used.
   (7) The good regions should be provided with adequate schools first, as the best class of people are there and hence greater returns are received on the investment of the school funds.
   (8) Many of the people in these sub-marginal regions can

logically be classed as feebleminded, and it is useless to try to educate them to any extent.

(9) Inefficient people usually get on the poor lands, and hence most of these people would not take and use *high schools* to advantage—do not have the mental capacity to do so.

5. Roads.

(1) The cost of building roads through many poor mountain areas is extremely high, due to the topography.

(2) These roads and schools if they are provided must *always* be maintained by the state, as the poor area will never be able to do so.

(3) People in poor districts do not use roads so much; hence expensive roads not needed:
a. Do not have much products to haul.
b. Do not have cars to ride in.

(4) Good roads encourage owning automobiles, which the people in poor farming areas are unable to support.

(5) Good roads would encourage poor people who have cars to ride around too much, thus neglecting their work.

(6) The cities do not attempt to provide good streets for their own poor slum sections that are unable to pay their share of paving expense. So why should they be expected to pay for fine roads in rural slum areas?

(7) The populous counties have no interest in local roads in sparsely settled poor sections far away, and should not be expected to pay for them. To help build State roads through these far-away areas is enough to ask the populous counties to do.

6. Health.

(1) If an educational health unit were put in every county the people in the poor areas would not listen to them,—just as they now take little interest in county agent and home demonstration work when these are provided.

(2) Thinly settled regions do not need as many health restrictions, regulations, etc., as do cities and thickly populated areas.

(3) Sparse population and the poverty of people should prevent many hospitals and doctors from being located in these regions—it is an uneconomical use of public money for the state to put them there where they will be little used.

7. Unfair to Other Sections.
   (1) This scheme simply means taking from some people by force and giving it to others who are less thrifty. The people of the richer sections think such a plan is unfair to them—and it is. Thus sectional antagonisms are engendered.
   (2) It necessitates giving more aid to some sections than to others—which is discrimination.
   (3) These are marginal farmers, and it is not fair to subsidize them at the expense of other really productive farmers. Such a subsidy hurts the farmers of other sections in two ways.
      a. By taking their tax money away.
      b. By causing more farm products to be purchased in competition with theirs.

8. Other Arguments Against Providing Equal Opportunities for Poor Areas.
   (1) Democracy does not imply full equality in all respects to all citizens regardless of intellect and industry.
   (2) To accomplish its full purpose such a program would require too great interference on the part of the state in local affairs.
   (3) If this idea is carried to its logical conclusion it will result in not only state aid, but also *national* assistance, to social institutions. It will also result in assistance not only to schools, roads and health but also to a vast number of other social welfare agencies. Thus a large and very undesirable bureaucracy would be built up at Washington.
   (4) We should be warned by the unhappy experiences of the British Government in its attempts at poor relief, and by the thoroughly undesirable results which have been brought about by these well meant but unsound measures.
   (5) This is a charity proposition, and is already being taken care of by the churches, etc., fairly well.
   (6) Are we going to *subsidize* these people and let their children and children's children go on taking up more and more sub-marginal land for society to subsidize? Or are we going to say that no more such land shall be cleared and settled until the time shall come when it will make the people on it self-supporting, due to their being then a real demand for the products produced on it? The latter is the position that we should take.

(7) When a man or a group of men cease paying for what they get and say they can't do it they step down, they lose their status. God forbid that the day should ever come when a group of American farmers, hard as the fight may be, should give up their status and throw themselves as pensioners on the state or federal governments.

Chapter XI

RELATION OF TYPES OF FARMING TO EXPENDITURE AND CULTURE

There seems to be a very general belief among writers on rural affairs that certain types of agriculture are particularly confining and therefore give limited opportunity for social contacts and result in a lower type of culture. Dairying and tobacco growing are favorite examples. If this is true it is a factor which will necessarily limit rural progress and to which careful study should be given. The evidence presented is far from conclusive, but it does indicate the importance of the problem and the need of securing definite data upon it. Dr. Spillman, than whom few men have a wider or more intimate knowledge of farm life throughout the United States, very distinctly recognizes the confining nature of dairying and the larger amount of leisure involved in wheat-growing, and that tobacco and cotton growing may be classed with the former and fruit-growing with the latter. Prof. Pond, on the other hand, presents very good evidence that this is not true of the dairy industry for one county in Minnesota as compared with a similar county engaged in general farming. It may be observed that on these Minnesota dairy farms there were 2.36 equivalent man workers per farm and that on strictly one-man farms the situation might be less favorable. What then is the truth in the general belief regarding this matter? The factors which should be considered in making an exact study of the problem are analyzed by Professor Lively and Dr. Kirkpatrick. There is agreement among the authors that a reasonable amount of leisure fairly well distributed, and the

amount of the family income are the chief factors conditioning a better culture on the farm. Leisure and family income are, therefore, among the criteria of rural progress.—D. S.

TYPE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AFFECTING EXPENDITURES AND CULTURE

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The types of farming that prevail in a given region are determined very largely by forces which are entirely beyond the control of the individual. These forces are of three classes. First, the physical forces, represented by climatic conditions, such as temperature and rainfall, and the character of the soil; second, biological forces, represented by insect pests and fungus diseases which make it impossible to produce a given product, or at least greatly increase the difficulty of production. As an example may be cited flax wilt, which has kept flax largely on newly broken land since the development of the Mississippi Valley began. The effect of the boll weevil in driving cotton out of many localities near the Gulf and Atlantic Coast may also be cited in this connection.

The third class of factors that determine type of farming are economic. Some of the most important of them are the relation between the price of a product per pound and the cost of transporting it to market; cost of production as compared with cost in competing areas; availability of labor, and the like.

The possibilities of using machinery have much to do with the income the individual can earn in the various types of farming. It is the amount of the income over and above necessary expenses of production rather than anything else inherent in the type of farming that determines the form of expenditure and the state of culture of a social group engaged in a particular kind of farming. A discussion of the effect of the various types of farming upon the standard of living and the culture of the people engaged in them is therefore largely a discussion of the income per individual as related to the type of farming. If what has just been said is true, it is evident that

a study of social problems will make little progress if it is not associated with a study of economic problems.

There is, however, one feature of certain types of farming quite aside from the income an individual can make when following them that must be taken into consideration in a sociological study. To visualize this feature let us compare dairying with one crop wheat farming as it is conducted, say, in the Palouse or Big Bend regions in the State of Washington. At a meeting of the State Dairy Association in that State, many years ago, a minister of the gospel read an interesting paper on "Observance of the Sabbath in a Dairy Community." He rather berated the dairy farmers for doing so much work on the Sabbath Day. The discussion of this paper was brought to an abrupt termination by a gray-bearded dairyman in the back of the hall. He said, "Brother Smith, the Lord himself is to blame in this matter. He made a dairy cow that gives milk seven days in the week and not one that gives milk for six days and rests on Sunday."

There are several types of farming that give no respite to the farmer, even on Sunday, and leave him no season of the year when he can feel free to take a vacation. This is particularly true of dairying and poultry raising, and to some extent of all kinds of livestock farming.

On the other hand, the exclusive wheat grower sows his wheat either late in the fall or early in the spring; then plows his summer fallow, and during the summer goes over it occasionally with some kind of implement to destroy weeds; then harvests his wheat, hauls it to the shipping station, and his year's work is largely done. The entire winter season with him is more or less of a vacation, and many of the well-to-do wheat farmers of the region, and when the price of wheat is adequate many of them are well-to-do, spend the winters in town, or even go to the salubrious climate of southern California.

Even during the summer time, after the plowing of summer fallow is finished in May, there is little to do on the farm until wheat is ready to harvest in August. Except for putting up the necessary hay to feed his workstock, this is a period during which

the farmer can relax, and the farm family may even take a vacation at the seashore or in the mountains.

The picture that has just been drawn of the wheat farmer is by no means a typical one, especially since the disastrous crash in prices that occurred in 1920. But when the price is sufficient to make wheat production profitable, say, in the corn belt, the farmer in the State of Washington, who grows nothing for sale but wheat, has an easier time of it compared with the man whose daily task is that of caring for a herd of dairy cows. Because of the confining nature of dairying, this industry seldom develops in any locality where alternative enterprises are available and adequate for a good living. Hence, the dairy industry is largely confined to the far northern states, where the winters are long and rigorous, and where grain is not sufficiently abundant and cheap to make the production of beef and pork major enterprises.

The confining nature of dairying, together with the limited income an individual of ordinary ability can earn in this branch of agriculture, limits somewhat the standard of living on dairy farms. There are, of course, exceptions. Men of large ability, who are able to direct the energies of many men to advantage, may earn a large income on a dairy farm. In that case what has been said above applies to the laborers on the farm rather than to the farmer himself.

Truck growing is largely a seasonal occupation. It means a great deal of careful work and often highly strenuous labor during the planting, cultivating, and harvesting season, with little to do at other times of the year. This kind of farming requires a large amount of hand labor, which necessitates that either the farmer himself, or the laborer he uses, must have a fairly small income, and hence a relatively low standard of living.

Tobacco farming is of two distinct kinds. In the one, tobacco occupies a small acreage on a large farm, its purpose being to fill in gaps in the labor schedule. In this position the tobacco crop adds largely to the farm income, and hence to the possible standard of living of the farm family.

The other form of tobacco growing is that in which tobacco is practically the sole source of income. An ordinary farm family can

manage about five acres of tobacco. On the average, it will produce around 800 pounds to the acre, or 4000 pounds to the family. At 10c to 20c a pound this represents a gross annual income of $400 to $800 a year. Usually half of this income goes to the owner of the land, leaving the family that produces the tobacco a gross income of $200 to $400 a year. Farmers who engage in this type of farming usually grow no garden and keep no cows, pigs, or poultry. Their standard of living is near the lower limit of possibility.

Cotton farming has a good deal in common with tobacco farming. The limiting factor in this case is the amount of cotton the average farm family can pick before it begins to deteriorate from the weather. This amount is about six or seven bales of cotton. One small mule can easily till the land necessary to produce this cotton, and in addition, enough corn to feed himself and to provide the family with cornbread. Half of the cotton usually goes to the landowner, who furnishes not only the land but the workstock and working implements. This leaves the family 3 to 3½ bales of cotton. At 15c a pound, a 500 pound bale of cotton is worth $75. Three to 3½ bales thus means an income of about $225 to $262.50 per family engaged in growing cotton. A very large part of the cotton crop of this country is grown under conditions similar to those described above. The standard of living is as low as it could well be. An interesting feature of this case is that in the matter of food, cotton growers have been driven by compulsion to the most efficient of all the foodstuffs that can be made to suffice.

Corn produces more human food per acre than any of the crops commonly available in the South. The hog is by far the most efficient of all meat-producing animals.

Sugar cane is the most efficient of all the crops we have in production of human food. The laborers in the cotton fields of the South live almost wholly upon cornbread, pork, and molasses. The climate is such that the necessary clothing costs very little. The same may be said of shelter for the farm family.

All this would be radically changed by the invention of a mechanical cotton picker that would do the work of many individuals. It would remove the present limit on cotton production per family, would release a very large proportion of the present farm

population of the South for employment in city industries, and would enormously increase the per capita income of those left on the farm, with a resulting rise in the standard of living.

If the production of fruit could be stabilized, so that the fruit grower could be assured of a fair income every year, fruit growing would permit a high standard of living. It involves many intellectual processes and requires a high type of intelligence on the part of the farmer. Some years prices are high, and almost fabulous incomes are made. In other years the crop is lost by untimely frost, or fruit is so abundant everywhere that it is not salable. The business is therefore highly speculative. Some shrewd men of unusual ability have made fortunes growing fruit. Thousands of others have abandoned their orchards after they come into bearing, or even before. The Secretary of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture stated in a recent annual report that four-fifths of the commercial orchards planted in the State of Missouri are abandoned before they come into bearing.

If fruit production could be stabilized, fruit growing would become a very desirable occupation. When prices are fair, it often permits a large income. While fruit trees require very close attention during the growing season and at harvest time, during the winter there is a long season when there is little work to do on a fruit farm. There is thus plenty of leisure for reading and recreation.

Grain farming has already been discussed for one locality. In general, this kind of farming permits the use of large implements and much horse or mechanical power. When prices are favorable, grain farming thus makes possible incomes of sufficient magnitude to enable the farm family to maintain a high standard of living. This kind of farming also provides periods of the year when little work is required, and there is thus leisure which can be utilized according to the tastes of the farmer and the members of his family.

Just at the present time there is a remarkable development going on in the introduction of larger teams and implements, and of mechanical power in grain farming. Last October I saw a young farmer in the State of Washington plowing with a 20-horse team.

This young man and his brother produce 1200 acres of wheat a year, without additional help except at harvest time.

In the Plains region and even farther East, the combine, which cuts and threshes the small grain crops at one operation, is becoming a standard farm implement. It has long been so on the Pacific Coast.

Very recently one of the large implement manufacturers has put on the market a tractor which can be used not only in plowing and preparing the land, but in cultivating corn or cotton. With the old style 2-horse, 1-row cultivator, one man could manage about 40 acres of corn on the level prairie lands of the Middle West. With this new implement, cultivating two or four rows at a time, and capable of going twice as fast as horses, the area of corn one man can handle is four to eight times as large as formerly. Apparently this implement is destined to have a very profound effect on the organization of corn belt farms, and on the organization of cotton farms in those sections of the cotton belt where outside labor can be obtained for picking cotton. The effect would extend over the entire cotton belt if a mechanical cotton picker could be developed.

This rapid introduction of the use of mechanical power into certain types of farming cannot fail to have a very profound effect on the welfare of the people engaged in those types of farming. They greatly increase the area of land a given force can farm, and increase correspondingly the income the farm family can earn. This in turn will affect profoundly the standard of living in many important agricultural regions.

There is one type of farming which may be mentioned in passing. There were formerly large herds of cattle in the Western Plains and Mountain states. Two decades ago these cattle were profitable to their owners. Men of ability could develop a large business based on cattle ranching, and some large fortunes were accumulated in this manner. In recent years increase in land values, particularly increases in taxation, increases in wages, and because of increases in taxation, land values, and wages, the notable increase in the cost of winter feed for the animals, has made cattle ranching on a large scale impracticable, and practically all of these ranches have been

dismantled. The cattle are still there, but they are now in small bands running on the rough lands attached to grain farms. The former big cattle men were men of large affairs, great ability, high culture, and a high standard of living. But their days are gone. A new type of farming is developing in the region. It is based on the production of wheat and flaxseed for market, the production of forage for cattle and hogs, the production of milk, mainly from beef cows, with usually a fair-sized flock of poultry on the farm. It is a highly diversified and stable system of farming. Unfortunately, most of the salable products of these farms have, in recent years, been selling at a low price. But when the price of farm products rises to a level comparable with that for the products which the farmer must buy, these smaller farmers who have taken the place of the great cattlemen of the past should be prosperous, and therefore able to maintain a fairly satisfactory standard of living.

TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AFFECTING EXPENDITURE AND CULTURE[1]

Observations of Farm Families In Two Areas In Minnesota Representing Two Important Types of Farming

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Superficial observation sometimes leads to the conclusion that certain rather intensive types of farming such as dairying are necessarily characterized by lower standards of living on the part of the farm family than are other types less intensive from the labor standpoint. The regular fixed labor requirements of dairying tie the farm family to their tasks throughout the year with greater inelasticity than does a system of farming in which there is considerable seasonal variation in labor demands. The large labor requirements of the dairy not only provide employment for family labor but often make possible its exploitation. It may well be questioned, however, whether this exploitation is an essential characteristic of

[1] Approved by the Director of the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station for publication as Paper No. 634, Journal Series.

a dairy type of farming and whether the regular and fairly full employment of the family robs them of leisure time for recreation and self improvement to the extent that an inferior order of culture or lower standard of living results. The comparison of a group of typical dairy farm families and farm homes with those in a section where a less intensive type of farming prevails will throw some light on this problem.

The group of dairy farms selected for this study is located in Steele County, Minnesota. These farms are representative of the dairy type of farming which predominates in southeastern and east central Minnesota. These are compared with a group of farms in Cottonwood and Jackson counties where corn dominates the farming and beef or dual purpose cattle and hogs determine the type of farming. This system of farming is quite general in southwestern Minnesota, northwestern Iowa and eastern South Dakota. It is less intensive from the standpoint of labor than dairy farming and is characterized by a great seasonal variation in labor demands. Complete detailed farm accounting records on an average of 22 farms each year for the five-year period 1920-1924 in each locality are available for this study. There was some change in farms in each area from year to year but the type was held constant.

The farms included in this study were quite similar in soil type, topography, climate and other physical features. They averaged approximately 180 acres in size in each group. The average size of family in the dairy group was 4.06 man equivalent units [2] and 3.88 man equivalent units in case of the other group. The average age of the farmers was 43.5 years and 41.3 years respectively. There was little difference in the age of settlement or in the education, intelligence, nationality, or economic and social status of the original settlers. There was a difference of 2.36 equivalent man workers on the farms of the dairy group and 1.73 on the farms of the other group. The outstanding difference between these two groups of farmers is in the type of farming in which they are engaged.

[2] One ablebodied man at ordinary farm work is considered one man equivalent unit. Other members of the family are scaled down according to a system of weights based on food consumption.

One very obvious difference between these two groups as brought out by the farm accounts is the size of income during the period of study. A statement of these incomes is presented in Table I. This income figure is computed by deducting from the total cash receipts from all sources all expenditures for the operation, maintenance and improvement of the farm. These expenses include some payments for the repair of the house and the operation of the automobile used jointly for farm and personal purposes. On the other hand they do not include the cash purchases of food used for boarding hired help. Probably these items offset each other fairly well. No allowance is made for interest on owned capital, changes in inventory, or any other factors not involving the receipt or payment of cash. This income figure represents as nearly as possible the amount of money these farmers had each year to spend for personal and family purposes.

TABLE I

FARM INCOMES AVAILABLE FOR PERSONAL AND FAMILY EXPENDITURES

Year	*Steele County*	*Cottonwood and Jackson Counties*
1920	$2023	$1163
1921	1727	1358
1922	2005	1504
1923	2069	1411
1924	1828	2091
Average	$1931	$1506

Unfortunately complete data are not available regarding the details of the expenditure of this income. There are, however, some significant facts about these farms and farm families that indicate to some extent relative standards of farm living in these two areas. One of these is the values of food consumed including both the portion purchased and that supplied by the farm. These facts are presented in Table II. The farm-raised food has been charged at farm prices and the same price used for both groups of farms. There appear to be no significant differences between these farms from the standpoint of food standards.

TABLE II

VALUE OF FOOD CONSUMED BY FARM FAMILIES (PER MAN EQUIVALENT)

	Steele County	*Cottonwood and Jackson Counties*
Farm raised food:		
Dairy products	$ 36.96	$ 34.89
Poultry and eggs	14.35	13.16
Meat	17.30	15.59
Potatoes	6.02	4.79
Total farm-raised food	$ 74.63	$ 68.43
Purchased food	74.51	71.58
Total value food consumed	$149.14	$140.01

A factor that is generally accepted as an index of culture and standard of life is education or schooling. In both of these areas practically all the children receive the equivalent of an eighth grade education. In Table III are presented some data regarding the more advanced schooling of these farm families. The distinctly higher educational attainment of the families on the dairy farms is quite apparent.

TABLE III

EDUCATION OF FARM FAMILIES

	Per cent of children of high school age attending high school	*Per cent of children of college age attending college*
Steele County	91.6%	20.0%
Cottonwood and Jackson Counties	44.6%	4.5%

A further measure of living standards is the improvements and conveniences in the farm home. No figures are available as to the relative size and quality of the farm houses in these two districts but the figures in Table IV indicate the relative amount of modern conveniences to be found. Here again the dairy farms have a distinct advantage.

Facts presented thus far indicate that dairy farmers and their families received larger incomes and were able to purchase more of certain things that contribute to the enrichment and enjoyment

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF FARM HOMES HAVING MODERN CONVENIENCES

	Running water	*Lights (electric or gas)*	*Furnaces*	*Sewage system*
Steele County	43.0%	35.5%	51.4%	34.3%
Cottonwood and Jackson Counties	18.5%	28.7%	29.7%	18.5%

of life. It is significant on the other hand to note that they worked harder or at least expended more hours of labor in earning these large rewards. This is apparent from Table V.

TABLE V

LENGTH OF FARMER'S WORKING DAY

(*Including only proprietors*)

Year	*Steele County*		*Cottonwood & Jackson Counties*	
	Week day (hours)	*Sunday* (hours)	*Week day* (hours)	*Sunday* (hours)
1920	10.9	5.7	9.8	3.4
1921	11.9	6.5	10.1	4.6
1922	11.3	6.2	10.1	4.5
1923	10.9	5.8	10.2	4.7
1924	10.4	5.4	9.6	4.5
Average ..	11.1	5.9	10.0	4.3

Not only did the farmer himself work longer in the dairy section but the family contributed more to the farm labor supply. The average number of hours of unpaid family labor per farm (other than proprietor's) for the five year period was 1700 hours in Steele County as compared with 1334 hours in the corn, cattle and hog section. A further analysis and classification of this unpaid family labor is presented in Table VI for the year 1924.

It should be explained that in case of the two groups of boys 16-18 the same boys may be included in both groups. They are included in one group while in school and in the other during vacation. It will be observed that their hours of work per day while in school are much less than during vacation since these hours comprise largely chore work done outside of school hours.

TABLE VI

CLASSIFICATION OF UNPAID FAMILY LABOR—1924

Class of Worker	Number of persons		Hours per farm		Hours per worker		Days per worker	
	Steele Co.	*Cottonwood & Jackson Co.*	*Steele Co.*	*Cottonwood & Jackson Co.*	*Steele Co.*	*Cottonwood & Jackson Co.*	*Steele Co.*	*Cottonwood & Jackson Co.*
Women	23	22	643	654	675	654	348	350
Girls	—	13	—	71	—	120	—	89
Boys under 16	8	7	167	177	481	557	143	225
Boys 16-18 (in school)	6	1	113	23	433	500	125	198
Boys 16-18 (out of school)	9	4	539	198	1378	1090	190	203
Boys over 18	6	2	615	98	2356	1075	284	191

The larger amount of work done by boys on the dairy farms is in part due to the fact that there happened to be more boys of working age on these farms.

The housewives on the dairy farms perform slightly more hours of farm work per year than those on the corn, cattle and hog farms. These labor data include only time spent on the productive enterprises of the farm. They do not include any housework. garden work or other operations primarily connected with the operation and maintenance of the home and the care of the family. In Table VII are brought out some significant differences between the type of farm work done by the women on these two groups of farms.

TABLE VII

HOURS OF FARM WORK PERFORMED BY WOMEN AT DIFFERENT TASKA

	Steele County (hours)	*Cottonwood and Jackson Counties (hours)*
Washing separator and dairy utensils	275	174
Feed and caring for chickens	379	241
Milking cows and feeding cattle	14	198
Field work on crops	7	41
Total	675	654

In both sections it was customary for the women to wash the separator and dairy utensils as well as feed and care for the poultry. The larger dairy herds and poultry flocks in Steele County provided much more work of this type for the housewives. Only in rare cases, however, did the women on the dairy farms perform the heavier tasks such as milking and feeding cows or the even more arduous tasks in the field. Only 3 per cent of their total farm labor consisted of this type of work whereas in Cottonwood and Jackson counties 37 per cent of all farm work performed by the women was of this heavier type usually considered men's work.

It may well be questioned whether one would ordinarily be justified in drawing conclusions regarding the effect of type of farming on family expenditures and culture from the facts such as have been presented covering a comparatively few farms representing the types in question. However, these two groups have been selected with unusual care and are very fair samples of the systems of production they represent. Many variables that might serve to complicate the problem such as differences in age of farmers, size of families, racial stocks, educational facilities, community organization and others are largely eliminated through the similarity of the two groups in these regards. The outstanding difference is type of farming. It would therefore seem that the facts presented together with observations that cannot be reduced to as exact mathematical measures would justify some general conclusions regarding the question under consideration.

It is apparent from the data presented that the food standards are at least as high on the dairy farms as on the others. In so far as educational attainments of the family and comforts and conveniences in the farm home are concerned, this group of dairy farmers ranks materially above the corn, cattle and hog farmers. The greater number of hours worked daily on the dairy farms is largely due to the uniform distribution of labor throughout the year. During the rush seasons of crop work the farmers in Cottonwood and Jackson counties work as long or longer days. The time apparently available for recreation and self improvement as the result of the lighter and more variable labor demands did not

seem to have been utilized in that way. No more of it was spent in school by members of the family. Careful observation of these homes showed that no more books and magazines were found in them. As a matter of fact it was observed that there was if anything more reading done by the dairymen. They were members of more organizations both social and business. In spite of the large labor requirements of their type of farming they found time to attend livestock shows, fairs, and meetings of breed associations and marketing organizations. This attendance often involved trips to other communities. It provided opportunity for contact with other groups of farmers as well as with business men in other lines. Nothing in the comparison of these two groups would seem to indicate that the steadier and larger labor demands of dairy farming necessarily result in lessened opportunity for culture or self improvement. The work performed by the children does not interfere with their education. The housewife on the dairy farm, although spending considerable time at the lighter tasks connected with the operation of the business, is not forced to take the place of a man in the barn or field. In no way does it appear that the dairy farmers and their families were satisfied with any lower standards than the best they were able to secure with the incomes at their disposal.

No general conclusions can be drawn regarding any business that will apply to every case or group of cases. It is easily possible to select dairy farming sections populated by certain racial groups who are content with a low standard of living. They may select dairying because of the opportunity it affords for exploiting their family labor. This exploitation should be considered a characteristic of the racial group rather than of the type of farming. From the facts that have been set forth one may conclude in general then there is nothing in a dairy type of farming that in itself results in lower standards of life on the part of the farm family as compared with other types of farming affording the farmer and his family more leisure time. The chief differences between the two groups of farms representing the different systems of production selected for study lies in the incomes available for family expenditure. The group having the largest income enjoyed the larger

share of educational opportunities, home conveniences and other things that contribute to enjoyment and satisfaction in rural living. The further conclusion may then be made that the size of income produced by a type of farming or system of production is a much more important factor in determining the type of family expenditures and the culture of the farm family than any characteristic of the type or system such as labor intensity or opportunity for the utilization of family labor.

THE LEISURE AND CULTURE OF FARM PEOPLE IN RELATION TO TYPE OF AGRICULTURE

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It is believed that the major influences arising out of the physical —biological—occupational complex designated as type of agriculture to affect the leisure and culture of farm people may be grouped under four heads: I. The nature of the constituent crops, animals and their products and the conditions of their production. II. Labor demands. III. Income and its effect upon standard of living. IV. Contacts, resulting in socialization and participation in the social process.

I. The Nature of the Constituent Crops, Animals and their Products and the Conditions of their Production. One of the most evident differences between certain types of agriculture is the land area necessary for production. Large farms not only mean sparse population but the extensive crops requiring large areas of land for production, such as grain and ranching usually operate on the near frontier where land values are relatively low. Since it is a new country and the population sparse and youthful, there is little wealth outside land and other production capital, and life is organized on a relatively simple plane. By contrast the more intensive types of agriculture such as dairy and truck can utilize the higher priced land near the centers of consumption. This situation with the denser population automatically results in more contacts and a more complex social organization.

It should be borne in mind, however, that any type of agricul-

ture which demands relatively level or rolling land is more favorable for cultural development than that which utilizes the less open lands, for here the cost of road construction and maintenance constitutes a fundamental barrier to communication and consequently to progress.

Certain fundamentals of knowledge are required in all types of agriculture but beyond these the techniques employed in the various crop and animal enterprises differ much. The general farmer, combining several crop and animal enterprises is in a position to possess the widest knowledge of the agricultural industry. From the standpoint of the integration of the production process with complex marketing and manufacturing processes, however, dairying perhaps offers the greatest possibilities at present.

The principles of science are gradually permeating all phases of agriculture but whether any particular type of agriculture more than any other favors the substitution of scientific principles for customary methods one cannot say. If improvements are born of crises the general farmer would lag perceptibly, however, since he is best protected from such failures as threaten the one-crop systems.

But science has so far not been able to equally reduce the processes of the various types of agriculture to a mechanical basis. Small grain is a highly mechanical type and these farmers approximate the skilled mechanic as they operate and keep in repair large quantities of complex machinery. It has not been observed that this tendency to mechanize farm processes carries over to the home processes, however.

Many of the intensive types such as truck and small fruits remain largely in the hand labor class. Much hand labor means much fatigue, and much fatigue stultifies thinking. Habits thus formed are effectual barriers to progress.

II. Labor Demands. The leisure time of farm people, the frequency and extent of the time at their disposal for travel, community enterprise, etc., is directly conditioned by the labor demands of the farming enterprise. The harvest demands of ripened grain and the care demands of livestock are insistent, but building repair and manure hauling may await the convenience of the operator.

With reference to type of agriculture and the development of

country life, several factors appear to be important on the labor side. Among them the following may be mentioned: the seasonal nature of labor requirements, including monthly variations, relation of minimum, average and maximum demands, length of work day, demands upon children and women folk, extent and nature of exchange and employed labor; prevalence of mechanical vs. hand labor processes; effects of scientific labor reorganization upon customary organization; the psychology of labor distribution and contacts.

The labor requirements of crops vary somewhat with climate, soil and customary processes of production, but in general are fairly uniform. The type of agriculture is determined by the particular combination of crops and animals selected for the farm enterprise. In general crop enterprises are more seasonal in their labor demands than livestock enterprises, and single crop enterprises, as wheat farming, are most seasonal in their labor demands. Thus, the single crop farmers possess more leisure time throughout the year which may be used for intellectual and cultural advancement. It has not been observed, however, that this extra time is so used. In fact other factors such as uncertain economic status due to dependence upon a single source of income, narrow point of view due to contacts limited to one commodity interest, the fact that some of these single types, as small grain, are limited to frontier sections, and a certain psychology which develops big plans in case of a "killing" (which seldom comes) and does little if it doesn't come seem to make the extra leisure time so gained of little profit.

Alternate rush and slack seasons necessitate the alternate pursuit of production and consumption enterprises. It is not clear that this is a psychological arrangement which is beneficial to either type of enterprise. If the crop system is so insistent in its demands and of such magnitude that it requires all of the farmer's time during the producing season, community affairs will not only be neglected but there is no certainty that they will be revived and developed with equal zeal when the crop season is ended. Lapses are seldom beneficial to enterprises in social organization. Under these circumstances there may be a tendency to depend upon

ephemeral forms of social organization leaving undeveloped the more permanent types, as well as those which require continuous effort throughout the year.

On the other hand it is contrary to our knowledge of psychology to expect that the farmer who has no time to make a study of a production problem which confronts him during the summer rush will defer the problem until the winter slack and pursue it with the same interest in January which gripped him in July. It would appear that from the standpoint of either the promotion of technical agriculture or the utilization of leisure, lack of continuity of habit and complete transference of interest are extremes to be avoided. The types of agricultural enterprise which distribute their labor demands more evenly throughout the year are therefore to be preferred. Such are the various forms of general farming, either where sufficient livestock are kept to make labor requirements more uniform, or where through scientific management the number of competing crops is reduced and the complementary and supplementary ones increased to accomplish approximately the same purpose.

The uniformity of livestock requirements through the year, especially when such livestock is used for dairy purposes, may, through high efficiency in the utilization of labor and particular types of marketing systems, greatly delimit the amount of leisure available and almost eliminate market contacts. So long as leisure is not entirely lost, however, it is probably true that these difficulties are somewhat compensated for by income and complexity of organization factors and that it holds greater cultural possibilities than any single crop system. That these more confining processes are avoided by those farmers who have experienced the "freedom" of the crop system is no evidence that this statement is untrue.

Special types of agriculture, because of their peak demands at certain seasons often draw heavily upon the whole farm family for labor. At times, as in potato digging, these demands conflict with the work of the school resulting in its close. Under the stress of these rush periods children are sometimes set tasks which are too heavy, while the length of the work day is frequently overtaxing. It is also in these special types such as small grain, sugar beets, truck, etc., where seasonal labor, frequently children, are

mostly employed. Since these laborers are commonly transient and frequently inferior to the farm operators the resulting contacts are of some importance. Children so employed are commonly exploited and their general welfare neglected.

III. Income and Its Effects Upon Standard of Living. Profits provide the means of maintaining a satisfactory standard of living, and they must be forthcoming or cultural development becomes impossible. It is perhaps going too far to say that any particular type of agriculture is consistently and as a whole more profitable than any other. All have their fluctuations though eggs and milk are more seasonal than yearly. Corn may be up when market milk is down and vice versa, but over a long period which is more profitable? Other factors which appear to be more significant than type are degree of commercialization, time and place location with reference to market possibilities and organization and management of the factors of efficiency, such as use of labor and returns for feed consumed.

Yearly fluctuation of income is a function of the type of agriculture, however. The price of potatoes in the Northwest may fluctuate greatly from year to year while market milk remains relatively stable. Much of the uncertainty of one-crop systems is due to this fluctuation and serves to make stable social life difficult. Again, the general farmer appears to be best protected and in a position to make consistent, if slow, home and community gains.

IV. Contacts, Resulting in Socialization and Participation in the Social Process. Space will permit only a bare outline of the subject of production, market and leisure-time contacts of people engaged in different types of agriculture. Coöperative production and employment of labor are problems of the first. From the standpoint of producer-consumer relations marketing organization generally has been growing less direct, though in the handling of certain commodities the distance from producer to consumer as measured by the number of steps in handling has been reduced. The growth of large population centers and the increasing demand for processing by the consumer has effectively separated the producer and the consumer in most types of agriculture alike, regardless of the spatial distance involved. This has served to reduce the number

and variety of market contacts for the farmer. Exceptions are found in those types of agriculture located near to the centers of population and which either market directly at the center or at the roadside market. These possess great advantage in number and variety of market contacts, though they may occur on such a plane of inequality as to be of minimum value.

Coöperative marketing methods increase the social intelligence of the farmer and thereby reduce social distance through the development of sympathy. Possibly they also tend to equalize contacts. Hence, types of agriculture which lend themselves readily to coöperative organization are superior in this regard.

The extent of the leisure time of farm people is the reverse of the labor requirements of the agricultural enterprises; hence, the types vary greatly. The nature of the leisure time activities, however, is more nearly determined by traditional factors coupled with the natural and artificial facilities of the locality, though they may occasionally reflect the major agricultural interests. It appears that the types of agriculture allowing for a reasonable density of farm population, located not remotely from centers of population, and providing for a rather even distribution of labor, and consequently of leisure, throughout the year are most favorable for the development of satisfying leisure-time pursuits.

THE RELATION OF TYPES OF FARMING TO EXPENDITURE AND CULTURE

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Consideration of the relation of types of farming to expenditure and culture may well proceed from expenditure as a starting point. Expenditure as here used is synonymous with the term *level of living*, defined in a former article (page 126), as the variety, amount and quality of economic goods consumed annually by the farm family.

Expenditure involves income. The extent to which increased income means larger expenditure for family living purposes and

the degree to which larger expenditure means a higher standard of life are much discussed questions. But, both expenditure and income involve culture. Culture is dependent upon the degree of stimulation provided by social environment and upon available opportunities for responding to such stimulation. Chief among these opportunities are leisure time for the fullest possible use of goods at hand and available sources of the goods desired, such as local markets, health facilities, schools and churches. Many of the different kinds of the economic goods of family living, schooling and religion especially, are social products which are closely affiliated with or determined by the people represented in different regions or different localities.

The proportion that the expenditure for the goods of a social nature,—termed cultural or advancement goods—forms of the total expenditure for all goods, is regarded as somewhat indicative of the degree of culture attained by any given group of families. These goods include formal schooling, reading matter, church support, benevolences, organization and club fees, recreational facilities and provision for travel. They cover a wider range of social uses than is covered by all other goods and are indicative of the spiritual as well as the physical satisfaction enjoyed by the family of average or medium circumstances since their use is usually preceded or accompanied by the use of goods satisfying the more material needs. The most worth while values in life grow out of the uses of goods filling social wants; that is, non-material goods, provided of course that the needs for food, clothing, shelter and other material goods have been met.

The use of a relatively large amount of advancement goods as indicated by the proportion of the total expenditure for this purpose makes for more extensive human relations and more lasting satisfactions for the individual. This is true, especially, when increased expenditure for advancement goods is accompanied by an efficient use of a certain amount of leisure time in continued education, including reading, in recreation, and in social participation. Free time for the fullest use of available advancement goods is essential to the growth and development of culture.

The results of a study by the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Eco-

nomics, of the standard of living among 2886 farm families of selected localities show that higher expenditures per family per year for all purposes are accompanied by higher expenditures for goods of a cultural nature. These results show also, that the higher expenditures for goods of a cultural nature are accompanied by more (reported) hours of time spent per day on an average, resting (including reading and other recreation) by both the farmer and the homemaker. Similarly the higher expenditures for advancement are accompanied by less hours of actual farm or home work per day and again by longer periods of vacation from farm or home work annually on an average.

In regard to our specific question it is unfortunate that the localities represented in the study referred to above were chosen primarily from the standpoint of general farming. They were not sufficiently typical of special types of farming to permit of comparisons of the average length of work day, the average amount of daily rest or the average amount of extended vacations from farm or home work by localities. Further study of specific localities representing specialized types of farming as dairying, general farming and truck farming, on the one hand, and wheat farming, cotton raising and fruit growing, on the other hand, is needed. Specific amounts of free time for the use of cultural goods in relation to the cultural goods and facilities available in each instance, must be determined through additional definitely planned study.

In this study allowances must be made for many factors having probable direct bearings on the main questions. Quality of the land, number, quality and value of livestock, nearness to markets, farm business ability, integrity of the farmer and his family, density and character of the population and income from sources other than farming must be considered.

Special types of farming may be characteristic of special types of people or vice versa due to longer periods of leisure permitting of more extensive social participation and to inherent qualities of the people.

People following special types of farming may be proceeding more from the standpoint of a definite selective principle than those following the more general types of farming. On the other hand

they may have found through experience and experimentation that special types of farming suit best their conditions and their capacities. These points must be determined.

The question of the relation of types of farming to expenditure and culture represents an open field for further study. This may well proceed first from the application of the method of study of the cost and standard of living to localities of specialized types of farming. Following this preliminary study more comprehensive and more satisfactory methods of measuring culture must be determined which methods may be used in further and more far reaching study of the various aspects of the original problem.

Chapter XII

THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF TENANCY

It is frequently asserted that tenancy is one of the causes of bad social conditions in rural communities. If this is true, then if tenancy became general it would prevent rural progress. That social conditions and living standards are lower in communities where tenants predominate seems to be true in most areas which have been studied; but as the writers of the following papers point out, there is no clear-cut evidence that tenancy as an economic system is the cause of these conditions.

The first two authors differ as to whether there is any permanent tenant class in this country. Analyzing the age groups of the tenants and owners, Dr. Hibbard shows that tenants are mostly younger men who later become owners. On the other hand, Dr. Bizzell shows that many of the southern states have over 50 per cent of the farms operated by tenants, and that this condition obtains in many of the best counties of the Corn Belt. That the tenants may ultimately become owners does not refute the fact that where a majority of the farms are operated by tenants, the social conditions are determined by tenant standards. Furthermore, it would be enlightening to know what percentage of the tenants in the Corn Belt Counties where tenancy is highest do ultimately become owners.

The high mobility of tenants is commonly held to be one of the reasons for the lack of interest in the social institutions of the community, but both Drs. Hibbard and Johnson point out that mobility is not a necessary concomitant of tenancy, as

shown by the relative permanency of tenants in England and Europe.

Much more investigation seems necessary before we can arrive at any satisfactory conclusion upon this problem. Evidently tenancy in the Gulf States needs a different sort of analysis from that of the North Central States. To what extent is tenancy chiefly due to lack of ability to own land, to relative ignorance, lack of energy, and insufficient capital?

Is it a fact, as Dr. Johnson indicates, that farming "is unable to compete with industries for the most wide awake group of people," thus taking owners and prospective owners off the land, while the rising price of land makes it increasingly difficult and relatively less profitable to own land than to rent?

Many of our pioneers sought farms of their own to escape the position of laborers or tenants which they had held in Europe. We have inherited their attitude that every man should live on his own farm and so have made the owner-operated farm a goal of rural life.

The economic aspects of tenancy have been quite thoroughly studied, but whether tenancy is inimical to rural progress can only be determined by an equally thoroughgoing study of the social standards of different types of tenants in various sections.—D. S.

SOCIAL EFFECT OF TENANCY

W. B. BIZZELL,
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The increase and distribution of the rural population with reference to land ownership and tenantry is basic to a consideration of the problems affecting rural life. The percentage of increase and distribution of farms operated by tenants is indicated by the census figures since 1880 when the first figures relating to tenantry were compiled.

Generally speaking, farm tenantry increased in every geograph-

ical division of the country from 1880 to 1920, but the percentage increase varies between rather wide limits in the different sections of the country. For example, the general increase was relatively small in the North Atlantic Division and the Western Division, but the increase was relatively great in the South Atlantic Division; the South Central Division and in the North Central Division. During the five year period between 1920 and 1925 the number of farms operated by owners decreased from 3,925,090 to 3,868,334 or 1.4 per cent. But it should be observed that during this five year period the number of farms in the United States decreased from 6,448,343 to 6,371,617 or 1.2 per cent. The actual effect of the decrease in the total number of farms on farm tenantry is not obvious from the available figures. The fact that the percentage of the total farms operated by tenants increased on only one half of one per cent for the country as a whole does not reveal the real facts with reference to the problem.

The real significance of farm tenantry is only revealed by an analysis of the census figures. For example, in the New England States, farm tenantry has not increased much during the past five years. In fact, it has declined in the New England States, the Middle Atlantic States, the East North Central group of states and in the Pacific States. But during the same period, farm tenantry has increased in the East North Central States, the South Atlantic States, the West South Central States and the Rocky Mountain Section.

The social effect of farm tenantry only begins to be felt when the relative number of farms operated by tenants in proportion to the total number is large. Generally speaking, we may divide farm tenure groups into three classes: (1) In the first group, we may place those states where the percentage of the total number of farms operated by tenants does not exceed 35; (2) In the second group, we may place those states where the percentage of total farms operated by tenants range from 35 to 50; (3) and in the third group, those states where the percentage of the total number of farms operated by tenants exceeds 50. Farm tenantry may not be regarded as a social or economic problem in the first group. In the second group, it may indicate that the situation has become ab-

normal and relatively few tenants are acquiring ownership in the farms that they cultivate. When the percentage of farms operated by tenants exceeds 50 per cent of the total number of farms, there is cause for concern about the future of agricultural enterprise and the social conditions surrounding rural life.

Based upon census figures for 1925, we find the classification by states as follows:

First Group (Percentage Below 35): Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon and California.

Second Group (Percentage Above 35 to 50): Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Delaware, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Third Group (Percentage Above 50): South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

It will be observed that the high percentage of farms operated by tenants is not uniform throughout the United States. It is interesting to observe that Delaware appears in the second group in which all the other states are in other sections of the country where crop systems are quite different from that found in this state. It should be observed in this connection that it is not quite right to infer that there is no tenantry problem in some of the states classed in the first group. There are important agricultural areas in Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri and Kentucky where the tenure of farms presents a social and economic problem. But it is quite obvious that farm tenantry is a state wide problem in most of the southern states and in some sections of the middle west.

SOCIAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO FARM TENANTRY

Much has been written with reference to the progressive steps leading to farm ownership. The progress from the status of farm laborer through tenantry to farm ownership has been described as

"climbing the agricultural ladder." It has been repeatedly pointed out that this is the normal process and that there will never come a time when all farmers will own the land they cultivate. Attention has frequently been called to the analogy between farm tenure and industrial enterprise in which the farm tenant bears somewhat the same relation to farm ownership as industrial labor bears to the ownership of industrial plants. Theoretically, all of this is good and under ideal conditions it might apply but in practice we find that "climbing the agricultural ladder" is not working out well in practice, and that the analogy between farm organization and industrial organization has some fallacious implications.

The factors that enter into the social analysis of the farm tenantry situation vary from the very definite and obvious to the remote and intangible. Some are so interrelated as to depend upon each other as a contributing cause. Some are economic and some are social. In many cases the social causes are traceable to economic conditions.

The *unequal bargaining power* of landlord and tenant is one of the most obvious of these influences. The form of lease agreement between landlord and tenant has varied widely under different conditions. The tenant farmer often cultivates his farm without a written agreement with his landlord. Under these conditions the farm tenant has not understood very well his own rights and the farm owner has taken advantage of this indefinite understanding. But even with the form of lease contract the terms of agreement have been much more favorable to the landowner than to the tenant. Much criticism has been directed at the short lease contract, which has usually been for one year. The problem has been to find a form of lease that was adaptable to crop production and equitable to both parties and which would encourage the improvement of the soil and provide reasonable compensation to the tenant for any improvements that he might make about the farmstead.

There has been much criticism directed at the landowner because of the inequitable leasing agreement but the landlord has had his difficulties in dealing with the farm tenant. The owner of land has been compelled to safeguard his interests when dealing

with the thriftless tenant. Tenant farmers, like every other group composing our society, differ widely in natural aptitudes and character. Some possess initiative and energy; others are ignorant, lazy and thriftless. There are many tenants who are indifferent to social welfare and moral integrity. Those farmers belonging to this class are willing to live with meager comforts and in a squalid environment. The farm owner has a difficult problem when he entrusts the cultivation of his land to the tenant of this kind and he cannot be censured for undertaking to safeguard his interests by more than ordinary precautions when leasing his land to a farmer of this character.

What proportion of farm tenants may reasonably be classed as thriftless and undependable? This question cannot be answered accurately. It is difficult in the first place to differentiate between tenants of this class and those that are semi-efficient, but in many communities the relative number of indifferent tenants is large, and in every case where this condition prevails the standards of living are low, and community solidarity is negligible.

The more practical question relates to the number of farm tenants who have lost their initiative, and who have become more or less thriftless as a result of hopelessness over the prospect of acquiring a farm home. Many tenants have become thoroughly discouraged because of the high price of land. One frequently hears the opinion expressed by tenants that a man cannot pay the price charged for the land and expect to pay for it in a reasonable time from the yield of the soil. Unforeseen misfortune is also responsible for discouragement. The "hard luck" story is often heard by the investigator. Illness, resulting in large medical bills, is often assigned by tenant farmers as a cause for discouragement. Ogden tells us in his *Rural Hygiene* that "the frequency of funerals, especially in the winter, and the few families in which all the children have reached maturity" are evidences that "good health is not the invariable accompaniment of country life." There is no question that the ill health, uncertainty of crop yields and prices have resulted in the complete discouragement of many farmers who began their careers with every promise of succeeding to farm ownership.

The influence of ignorance is a contributing cause to farm tenantry. This fact is well known to the student of rural problems. It has a more or less direct bearing upon all other influences that act or react upon this situation. The first impression that the investigator gets when he comes in contact with the farm tenant is that the great masses of them are woefully ignorant—ignorant of their legal rights; ignorant of their economic possibilities; ignorant of their social and political responsibilities. Throughout the nation, particularly, in the middle west and south where rural schools are relatively poor and inefficient, ignorance is retarding the movement for farm ownership.

The influence of ignorance on rural property is illustrated by the failure of many farmers, particularly tenants, to profit by the scientific information that is being disseminated by the United States Department of Agriculture, the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, through the agricultural extension activities and the Federal Board of Vocational Education. One wonders why farmers do not profit by the vast amount of information that they might utilize for their benefit and profit. The answer is quite obvious. There are many farmers who are ignorant of the use of farm machinery and the best construction and arrangement of farm buildings. They are often ignorant of labor saving devices about the farmstead and they have little understanding of the importance of sanitary devices and their influence upon wealth. All of these considerations are basic to a better economic and social situation.

The passion for home ownership is largely determined by an intelligent comprehension of what is involved in good farming, comfortable homes and attractive environment. "The more one considers the whole question", says President Henry Smith Pritchett, "the more fully one is persuaded that the problem of teaching the boy on the farm, training him into a successful agent for a new scientific business of farming and making him a factor in the conservation of resources, is inextricably connected with the larger problem of the betterment of social and economic conditions of rural life."

Ignorance is not a measurable quality. Its influence on produc-

tion cannot be determined directly by statistical methods, but its social significance is well understood and its extent is fairly well determined in this country. Its significance as a contributing cause to the problems of rural life must be considered in any program of social betterment that may be devised for rural conditions.

Individualism is also a characteristic of farm tenants. Abnormal individualism is the direct result of ignorance. Coöperation implies intelligence. The coöperative movement in the United States has been retarded by the inability to induce numbers of tenant farmers to join these associations.

The shifting of tenants from one community to another makes ownership difficult. The uncertainty of his tenure causes the tenant to feel that it is useless to spend his energies in organizing for specific purposes. The short-term lease and the uncertainty of continuance on the same farm has caused the tenant to assume an indifferent attitude toward all coöperative efforts. The tenant feels that the uncertainty of his tenure makes it unprofitable to join a coöperative association.

It is not contended that the social status of all tenant farmers is influenced or determined by these considerations. It is well known that many of them possess adequate intelligence and initiative to participate in coöperative enterprises and to acquire a farm home. But no one would contend that the factors that have been described are not determining the social and economic status of great numbers of this class.

THE RACIAL INFLUENCE ON FARM TENANTRY

The influence of racial groups upon farm tenantry deserves consideration in an analysis of the farm tenantry situation. Our composite population to-day is made up of many racial elements. We know that immigrant races have exerted an important influence on industrial labor conditions. What has been the extent of this influence on the land tenure situations?

The Commissioner of Immigration, in his report for 1903, called attention to the condition in the cities as "the congested places in the industrial body which checked the free circulation of labor."

In a later report, however, he expressed the opinion that the aliens were becoming better distributed than in earlier periods. A serious effort has been made on the part of the immigrant officials to prevent, as far as possible, the congestion of immigrants in our larger Atlantic seaport cities. Aliens arriving on our shores have been supplied with information as to labor needs, in regard to the demand for wages, kinds of employment and cost of living in various sections of the country. This has resulted in the better distribution of labor elements from foreign countries but it has not been an important factor in inducing aliens to become farm producers.

The older immigrant race groups came largely from Northern Europe. They included the Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, all of whom came from the rural sections of their respective countries and immediately established agricultural colonies in this country. In most cases they were more skilled in agricultural knowledge and experience than the native Americans. They acquired large land holdings and became very successful and prosperous farmers.

This has not been true of the recent immigrants who have come in large numbers from southeastern and southern Europe. They are unskilled and untrained in agricultural pursuits and have not as yet demonstrated their ability as farm producers.

It is interesting to observe that while nearly two-thirds of the Italians from southern Italy and approximately one-fourth from northern Italy were farmers in their native land, a very limited number of them have become agricultural producers in this country. However, there are large farming communities of Italians in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas. As a rule, the Italian is thrifty and saves his money. He may begin as a farm laborer or a farm tenant but within a reasonable time he acquires ownership of the land he cultivates. The Bohemians and Slovaks have entered upon farming as a vocation in various parts of the country, including Virginia, Texas and Arkansas. The Slovaks, unlike the Bohemians, are largely illiterate and are less skilled in farming. However, as they are naturally a farming people, they are adapting themselves to farm conditions in this country. Both the Bohemians and the Slovaks

have become reasonably thrifty farmers and they have exerted no influence on the tenantry problem in the sections where they have located.

The largest farm element in our farm population has come from Germany. "No other foreign element", says Professor E. A. Ross, "is so generally distributed over the United States as the Germans". Their skill, industry and thrift have made them uniformly successful not only in agriculture but in other vocations which they are following. They have brought with them to this country their traditional love for home ownership and a willingness to settle down and develop the land they occupy. No where in the United States has farm tenantry become a problem where Germans cultivate the soil.

An entirely different type of immigrant is that represented by the Chinese and Japanese. The Chinese have been very successful in certain types of farming. Truck farming has been developed to a high degree by them in southern California. A surprisingly large number of Japanese in America is engaged in agriculture. "The Japanese have become a rather important factor in agriculture", said Professor H. A. Millis, "in Idaho, Utah, and Colorado, in connection with the sugar beet industry. In those states, farm tenantry in connection with the Japanese has become a problem. In Colorado, the Japanese are almost all tenant farmers with one year leases." Tenant farming among the Japanese is an important aspect of the agricultural situation in Washington and in some sections of California.

An increasing number of aliens from Mexico are coming to the United States and a large number of them are engaged in agricultural pursuits in the southwestern states, but the Mexican has been largely utilized as a seasonal labor element or farm owner. A number of Mexican farmers are tenants but they are rather widely scattered and are not important factors in the social situation.

The most important racial group, from the standpoint of farm tenantry, is the Negro. It is impossible to understand the farm tenantry situation in the southern states without a knowledge of the place occupied by the Negro farmer in the land tenure situation.

Farming has been the chief vocation of the Negro population throughout the southern states.

The census figures show that relatively few Negroes own the land they cultivate. A very large number of Negro farmers are farm tenants. The Negro farmer has been essentially a share-cropping tenant. Many of the worst aspects of the tenantry system in the South was due to the economic dependence of the Negro tenant upon his landlord and the prevailing opinion that the financial responsibility of the Negro farmer would not justify a more independent type of tenantry. This situation exerted an influence on tenantry policies for both white and Negro farmers.

In recent years, Negro farmers have been making the transition from tenantry to farm ownership rather rapidly, but this transition was preceded by an intermediate step which consisted of the substitution of a cash rental for the share-cropping system.

It may be said that with the exception of the Negro in the South, racial groups have not exerted very much influence on farm tenantry. Most of our aliens who have become farmers came with a knowledge of farming and readily adapted themselves to farm life conditions in this country, and by their thrift and economy acquired ownership of the land they cultivated. The Japanese have been the exception to the general tendency and the total number of this race has not been sufficient to seriously influence the farm tenantry situation. The Negro farmer on the other hand has constituted an important element in the farm population and has comprised a large percentage of the farm tenants in the cotton growing states of the South.

THE INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS OF FARM TENANTS

This brief analysis is sufficient to indicate the general land tenure situation in the United States with reference to farm tenantry. It remains to discuss the social effect of farm tenantry on rural community life.

As a general thing, the intellectual interests of farm owners are greater than those of their tenant neighbors. The relative intellectual interests of the two groups are usually reflected in their

fraternal relations, the number of books and musical instruments found in their homes, and the attitude toward schools and community institutions. In the Ohio Rural Life Surveys and a number of other surveys that have been made, it has been found uniformly that farm owners take a larger number of papers than farm tenants and that the quality of the periodical literature is better in farm homes than in tenant homes.

The intellectual and esthetic interests of tenant farmers are reflected also in the character of their homes. In many rural communities a trained observer can usually distinguish between a tenant house and one occupied by a farm owner. The condition of the outhouses, the exterior appearance of the residence and the conditions about the farmstead are sufficient to determine the tenure status of the occupant.

The farm homes of tenants rarely have as many conveniences as those occupied by owners. Running water and labor saving devices are less frequently found in houses occupied by tenants. The farm tenant usually does not take the same interest in the furnishings and the equipment of his home as does the farm owner. The walls of rooms are less frequently adorned with pictures. The floors are often without rugs and the bedroom furnishings are cheap and unattractive.

Rural school attendance is also seriously affected by the percentage of farm tenants in the community. It is almost the universal rule that in a community where farm tenants predominate, the school attendance record is poor. This general attitude of indifference on the part of the farm tenants toward the community in which they live is often reflected in the character of the school buildings, the qualifications of teachers and the equipment for instruction.

This rural school situation is typically illustrated by a study made of rural schools in Travis County, Texas, by Professor E. E. Davis, formerly a member of the Extension Staff of the University of Texas. In this study it was found "that 63.1 per cent of all the families in the section of Travis County that was surveyed were tenants, and in some communities the rate of farm tenants to the total population exceeded 80 per cent." In commenting on this situation, Davis says: "A high percentage of farm tenants is not

conducive to good schools. It is not natural to expect the average farm tenant to have the community interests that he would if he were permanently located on land of his own. . . . Diligent inquiry was made, and in this area of 200 square miles and more than 13,000 population, only one absentee landlord was reported as actively encouraging his tenants to vote for a school tax."

The limited intellectual interests of the farm tenant is largely explained by inadequate rural school facilities. There is very little to stimulate intellectual interests in communities where these conditions prevail. Where there are poor schools there are usually few lodges, social and literary clubs, churches, and other institutions that foster and develop the intellectual interests of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that all the studies that have been made, reveal the fact that in these communities where farm tenantry is high, the number and extent of the intellectual interests are small. The relative increase in the intellectual interests to be found in any rural community is, roughly speaking, in proportion to the number of home owners to farm tenants.

THE RELIGIOUS INTERESTS OF FARM TENANTS

The religious interests of rural people also varies with the land tenure situation. We are told by one writer that "of all men the farmer is naturally the most religious." But surveys that have been made in many parts of the country reveal the fact that more than half of the country people have no church connection. Authorities on the rural church inform us that the number of religious services in almost every section of the country is decreasing.

In the voluminous writings on the rural church the influence of farm tenantry has been repeatedly pointed out. "The tenant must be of very strong religious tendencies", says Willis Ray Wilson, "who will take much interest in the church of the community in which he is a tenant farmer so long as he feels that his residence there is secure for only one year. He certainly will not feel toward the church as he would knowing that he was to remain a term of years."

The late Henry Wallace expressed a similar opinion when he

said: "The prosperity of the rural church has in all ages and in all countries been determined largely by the tenure by which farmers hold their lands. A prosperous country church means a relatively large rural population—large enough to support a minister, to push the work of the church vigorously, to impress its ideals of life and character on the community, and to do its part in extending the gospel to outside sections and to foreign lands."

In another connection in this same discussion, Wallace states this situation as follows:

"Tenancy is not in itself an evil, but uncertainty of tenure and short leases are evils that vex humanity. We cannot expect to see a prosperous rural church until the tenant can make some arrangement with his landlord by which he can stay on the same farm indefinitely, take root in the community, become an active member of the church, and make of his children real members of the Sunday School and rural school."

In a survey of this situation by the writer a few years ago the question was asked of a large number of tenant farmers as to why they did not attend Sunday School and church. The answers may be summarized as follows:

(1) "It is too far."
(2) "The roads are too bad."
(3) "We, (my family) have nothing appropriate to wear."
There are other miscellaneous reasons assigned.

But, after all, these reasons are more or less superficial. The fact is, that underlying these causes, are the more fundamental ones of a sense of detachment from the community and an indifference to the institutions of the community, because of the conditions of tenure and financial limitations.

INFLUENCE OF FARM TENANTRY ON THE STABILITY OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

The general effect of farm tenantry on community life is to create more or less unstable conditions. The instability of the social order becomes greater as the percentage of farm tenants in-

creases and their distribution is more extended. *When the percentage of farm tenants in any state becomes more than 40 per cent of the total rural population, there is reason for concern about the welfare of the social and economic institutions of that state.*

Much has been said about the conservatism of the farmer but we are all familiar with the radical tendencies that farmers have revealed in recent years. This change from conservatism to radicalism is a result of economic conditions. In those sections where mortgages have been foreclosed in large numbers and farm owners have been reduced to tenantry the most radical tendencies have developed. In some of the southern states where the percentage of farm tenantry is abnormally high, political upheavals have occurred. Financial distress, resulting from one cause or another, has made it comparatively easy for the demagogue to use and appeal to prejudice to get elected to public office. Where this has occurred, there has been a general decline in the efficiency of public officials accompanied with graft and the misuse of political power. In a few instances in recent years, political upheavals have occurred as a result of rural dissatisfaction, which has threatened to retard the general welfare of the people.

The American people are beginning to understand that the stability of the social order can be maintained only under conditions that insure reasonable satisfaction to every vocational group composing our population. In times past our economic institutions have been threatened by the dissatisfaction of industrial labor with prevailing conditions. In more recent times, the stability of our social order has been threatened by economic distress prevailing throughout the rural sections of the country. We should learn that good laws will not sustain a normally progressive civilization *unless these laws are given applications that result in equality of economic opportunity for all vocational groups composing the nation's population.*

CONCLUSION

The social effects of farm tenantry, as analyzed in the preceding discussion, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. A lower intellectual standard of living and a corresponding

influence on the moral standards of those who compose this class.

2. A decreased interest in education and a neglect of educational opportunity on the part of the children of tenants.

3. A general indifference to the religious motive and a corresponding neglect of church attendance.

4. An increasing difficulty in promoting efficient rural organizations because of the low educational standards and the transient habits of a tenant class.

5. A gradual decline in the effectiveness of political action due to indifference and ignorance of farm tenants with reference to governmental policies.

6. The development of undemocratic tendencies in American life due to the social disintegration resulting from class consciousness that has developed between landowners and the tenant.

7. General instability of rural institutions due to the transient habits of farm tenants, who cherish little sentiment of attachment for the land they occupy and feel no concern about the development of the farmstead where they live.

8. A lowering of esthetic appreciation because of the influence of this class on the standards of the entire community in which they reside.

THE SOCIAL EFFECT OF TENANCY

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Probably any treatment of the social effect of tenancy, with our present knowledge of the case, will be to a considerable extent a matter of opinion. This is true not merely because of the lack of information but because of the difficulty of allocating causes and analyzing effects.

At the start it is well to consider the question as to whether or not we have a tenant class. In European countries there are many people on leased land who have no reason to expect to become farm owners. This is noticeably true in Italy and in England. Thus in those countries we have a tenant class. In the United States, so far as the Census figures disclose the facts, it can hardly be said

that there is a distinct tenant class. Clearly there is none throughout the North and West. Of all the statements that can be made concerning the tenants in distinguishing them from farm owners as a class the most important pertains to their age. The tenants are clearly the youngest group which can, from any standpoint, be designated. In 1920 nearly 76 per cent of the farmers under 25 years of age were tenants while at the age of 65 more than 83 per cent were owners. Thus one farmer in four at the age of 25 owned the farm he operated, while at the age of 65 all but one in seven were owners. These proportions were for all farmers. Certain groups vary widely from this average. For example, in the East South Central States the colored farmers had arrived at ownership to the extent of 35 per cent of their number at the age of 65 and over. In contrast with this low percentage the white farmers of the same section had attained ownership to the extent of 85 per cent of their numbers. Thus in the section of the country in which tenancy is the highest the white farmers achieve ownership to the extent of 85 per cent before retiring from the business, leaving less than a sixth as permanent members of a tenant class.

The above facts are pertinent, distinctly so, in all matters relating to the social significance of tenancy. Nor is this all. In every state in the Union a considerable proportion of the tenants are related to the landowners. In some sections the proportion is from a third to half; in other sections much lower. On an average about a quarter of all tenants are related to their landlords. In this group there can be no question as to the social status, or effect. The tenant who belongs to the same family as the landlord will as a citizen show about the same social and community traits as his landlord father or uncle.

Furthermore, over 44 per cent of the farmers of the present day were at one time themselves tenants. This means that tenancy was a means of rising through the earlier state of smaller command over wealth up to the ability to buy a farm. Whatever else may be said about tenancy it has to be admitted that it is, and has been in this country a stepping stone to ownership. No system of progress resulting in land ownership can be condemned without first pointing out a better means of arriving at the desired end.

It is well to consider who the landlords are. The sentiment against absentee landlords is strong. Just what is meant by absenteeism is not plain. To begin with the majority of the owners of rented land in this country are either farmers or retired farmers. This has a bearing on the social side of tenancy. Probably no better type of landlord could be found, everything considered. The retired farmer is interested in the upkeep of the farm, and is able to contribute a great deal toward the management of farm operations. This latter fact is an advantage to many young tenants.

Almost four-fifths of the landlords of the country live within the same county in which the farms are located, and the same per cent own but one farm. Thus we have little absentee landlordism, virtually none, and, of equal significance, we have no tendency toward great concentration in the ownership of farm land. In short we have no landlord class.

Tenants make as great, or greater, labor incomes as do owners. Not only was this true according to the best available information before the War, but in the most recent estimates for 1925, it is still the case. Before tenancy is to be condemned in a wholesale manner this fact of relative prosperity must be explained. True enough farm income in general is pitifully low, but the tenant is in the same boat with the owner so far as general prosperity is concerned.

Occasionally it is pointed out that the landlord's surroundings are superior to those of the tenant. That this is generally the case need not be doubted. The implications may, however, well be questioned. It is true that the economic status of the thirty year old farmer is below that of the farmer fifty years old, yet no one pities the younger man on account of his age. Not only will he grow older as the years pass, he will also grow wealthier—and quite possibly become a landlord. There is room for improvement in many country districts with respect to schools, roads, and other community affairs. In some districts in which tenancy is prevalent the conditions of these institutions is below par. Even so, the student who goes into the field expecting to find educational advantages in indirect proportions to ownership of farms is destined to disappointment. Where tenancy has occupied substantially the whole

community, tenants not rising to ownership, conditions will not be the best. Where tenants are of the normal kind, viz., those who will be owners within a few years, and where they represent a minority of the farmers of the community, as they should, no great case can be made against them from the progress standpoint. The farms on which they live are taxed at as high a figure as the rest, and the tenants have the benefits of the expenditures, contributing their proportional share.

Another charge against the tenant is based on his lack of permanency in a given community. Undoubtedly this is the weak point of the tenancy system. The average length of time a tenant occupies a given farm is some three years. It should be borne in mind, however, that farm owners during the early years of ownership are likely to move a time or two. In most cases the moves are to more suitable, usually larger farms. Likewise the tenant finds a move or two desirable in order to adjust himself to the farm best adapted to his needs and capabilities. From the broadest social aspect these advantages must be reckoned with in connection with the disadvantages of lack of permanency so often discussed.

In passing it may be worth while to notice for a moment the stock remedies so often prescribed for the evils of itinerancy among tenants. The most usual remedy proposed is a longer lease. It is even said by many who should know better that we should follow the custom of the English in this respect. Yet in England a long lease is infrequent, though tenure is well-nigh permanent so far as a given tenant is concerned. To attempt to make tenancy more tolerable, and socially more commendable by lengthening the lease is about as hopeful as to strengthen the marriage vows as a means of preventing divorce. It is not the lease which is at fault. It is the conditions underlying the whole relationship. It is generally believed that short tenure is bad for both tenant and landlord. No doubt this is true a large part of the time, but there are many exceptions. It must be remembered that tenants usually buy farms within ten years. Therefore a tenant who within a few years is likely to buy a farm himself is not anxious for a long lease agreement to work somebody else's farm. Likewise many landlords are

planning to sell their farms and so cannot afford to be tied up with a long lease.

This latter situation is, or at least has been, very prevalent. The speculative feature of farm land has been one of the most important elements in its value. Until after 1920 substantially all landowners were about as much interested in the rise in values as in annual income, and well they might be from a practical standpoint. For example in the West North Central states the increase in the value of farm land between 1910 and 1920 was over a hundred per cent, while for the country as a whole the increase was 92 per cent. With such rapid changes in values there is bound to be on the part of a great many people a desire to own land. This desire not only should logically, but actually did, result in a bidding for land which ran the selling price up well above the capitalized rental value. In other words the returns were low annually but the chances for a real advance in the selling price were good. With these conditions predominating there was bound to be a growth in tenancy since so many bought farms for the probable rise in price, but with no intention or possibility, of operating them. Whatever may or may not be the evils of a period of speculation, which outran itself in the war years, the blame cannot be placed at the door of tenancy. The cause was deeper than tenancy, or the tenancy contract. Hence tenancy was a symptom, not a major trouble.

The boom period of 1917 to 1920 left us with a situation which resulted in an increase in tenancy during the ensuing five years. However, should the value of land be adjusted to its income the tendency toward ownership which is always strong will assert itself. Under the condition of overvalued land a farmer is better off to rent than to buy, provided he can get a suitable farm, adapted to his plan of farming, and furthermore, provided he can get measurably secure tenure. Socially tenancy is bad to the extent that these requirements of good farming are not met.

In summary it may be noted that over the main part of the United States we do not have a tenant class. The tenants are young farmers destined to become owners. No other method of getting started as farmers is available to perhaps half of these beginners. The desire to operate a better farm than the first ob-

tainable is a reason for moving from one tenant farm to another a time or two. The speculative element in farm land during a long period prior to 1921 is another, and probably the greatest cause of short occupancy of tenant farms. Socially considered it is logical and desirable that beginners operate farms belonging to those who for some reason are not in a position to do farming themselves. More security and stability of tenure on the part of the tenant would be desirable. Likewise it would be desirable on the part of the landlord who is planning to keep his farm as a permanent investment. Where neither party is looking ahead for more than a brief time there will be no vital interest in keeping the farm itself in order, or maintaining the fertility. Yet with all the complaint which has been launched against tenancy the tenant farms do not go down in fertility much faster than owned ones. The difficulties of agriculture are much more fundamental than the mere question of ownership and tenancy however important that may be.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF FARM TENANCY AND LARGE LAND HOLDINGS

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The social problems connected with farm tenancy and with large estates are not necessarily the same but in many cases they are closely related. In the general outline for this study it has been assumed that the economic efficiency both of tenant operated farms and of large estates is granted for the purpose of centering attention upon the social aspects of these two rural problems. It is not possible to eliminate entirely the discussion of some economic questions, but the emphasis will be placed mainly on the social problems connected with large holdings and farm tenancy.

The popular assumptions concerning both tenancy and large estates is that agriculture as a whole is better off with a minimum number of tenants and few, if any, large estates. Writers in this country generally think that satisfactory social institutions cannot be developed in communities composed mainly of tenant farmers or

of estates operated by hired laborers. It is nothing new to say that the family-sized owner-operated farm is now the ideal in the minds of most people who are interested in the problems of land tenure, but it seems to be worth while to have this clearly in mind as a basis for further discussion. The reason for mentioning this widespread belief in the desirability of owner-operated farms in this connection is that there is a tendency to charge all of the social ills of agriculture in a section having many tenants to tenancy itself or if there are many large holdings to make the large holdings the cause of the bad social conditions.

There is no question but that social conditions are worse in most sections having a high percentage of tenancy than in comparable sections where owner-operated farms are the rule. A list of the bad social effects of farm tenancy mentioned by writers in this country includes the following:

1. Low standard of living shown by poor dwellings, limited household conveniences, little reading matter in the home, smaller use of telephone and rural free delivery, and low expenditures for food and clothing.
2. Poor social institutions, especially churches and schools.
3. Unprogressive communities, largely the result of frequent moves made by tenants.
4. Exploitation of land and improvements indicating a lack of the social point of view concerning the use of property by both tenants and owners.
5. Class distinction.

Surveys in different parts of the United States furnish the basis for the above observations. It is of course, true that there are great differences in the social conditions of tenants in the different sections of the country.

The disadvantages of large estates have not been discussed to any great extent in the United States except in cases in which the large estates are rented out to tenants. The tenancy aspect is generally emphasized rather than the size of holding. Whenever large areas have been purchased for speculation there have appeared warnings against the monopolistic control of land. Probably the

most notable example of this tendency was that of Henry George who (seeing the large holdings in California) reasoned that the ills of society could be remedied by taking away the incentive to hold unused land. Mr. George thought that the Single Tax would solve most social problems both rural and urban.

From time to time there have been numbers of suggestions that both the economic and social conditions of agriculture could be improved by some type of corporate farming in which the economics of large scale production and selling could be introduced. These plans for corporate farming vary from benevolent organizations having as an ultimate goal the creation of owner-operated farms to plans for highly industrialized farms competing for labor in the usual way.

Most of the discussions of social conditions in sections having a high percentage of tenancy, seek to find the cause in tenancy itself. It is not intended here to criticize any of the work done in describing social conditions among tenants because it has been extremely valuable in giving a picture of the way in which tenants live. There is however room for considerable doubt as to the causal relationship. The importance of getting at the cause of the social ills credited to tenancy is apparent when a program of relief is being planned. If tenants are in a bad way with a low standard of living and other difficulties because they are ignorant and diseased, it certainly is more sensible to educate and cure rather than attempt to subsidize some kind of ownership of the land.

Perhaps the easiest way to analyze the relationship between standards of living and tenure status is to inquire into the alternatives available to tenants. Tenants of course vary greatly in accumulated wealth from a cotton "cropper" with almost no capital to a corn belt tenant with several thousands of dollars. Recognizing these differences in wealth, there are two or three possibilities. Tenants with little capital can become owners of poor farms or small holdings with an equity so small that any reverse will wipe out all savings or they can become laborers on larger farms. The tenant with a larger accumulation has two alternatives, namely, to own a poor farm or a little farm without debt or to make a small payment on a larger good farm. Except in

periods of rising land values farmers always make more from money invested in working capital than they do from investments in land. For this reason it seems doubtful whether, in the long run, there is any likelihood of helping the tenant by a change in his tenure status unless there is at the same time an improvement in his economic position. The tenants at any given time include young men starting as farmers, many of whom are saving to become owners as well as thriftless or unfortunate older men who have been forced to remain as tenants on poorer farms or with a limited opportunity to make money on good farms. In any case, the tenants include a disproportionate number whose standards of living are low not simply because they are tenants but because they are poor. Low standards measured by expenditure are certainly connected with tenancy but poverty and ignorance are more than likely to be the causes of poor living.

In the development of social institutions the natural expectation is that the tenant has less interest, as well as less ability, to contribute financially, and that a great concentration of tenancy means generally that schools and churches will be of a low standard in that section. It is easier for the progressive tenant to move to good school and church facilities than it is to work for them in a neighborhood where the apathy toward such things is pronounced. This kind of selective process may in part account for the poor churches and schools where tenants predominate. However, if the same men were owners subject to mortgage, but with no greater financial resources, it may be doubted whether the resulting social institutions would thereby tend to improve.

In the United States the most characteristic feature of tenancy is mobility. The estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for 1922 showed that 27 per cent of tenant operated farms and 6 per cent of the owner-operated farms changed occupants in 1922. The census for 1920 indicated that 43 per cent of tenants had been on the farms then occupied for less than two years. Tenants move more frequently than owners which makes for a lack of progress in areas having high percentages of tenancy. Is the resulting demoralization of rural institutions more than offset by the economic gain coming from good tenants getting good lands and good land-

lords? So far there is no answer except a theoretical one, but it must be recognized that too much stability is just as bad as too little. It is well to remember also in this connection that a minimum of change in occupancy of farms may be attained where most of the farmers are tenants as in England.

On the whole, it is easier to take care of the indifferent tenant in a neighborhood in which he is a part of a minority than is the case in which the majority is unprogressive. Land may be taxed to support the schools and minimum requirements may be imposed by the State to develop fair educational institutions but the churches depending on voluntary contributions will find it difficult to function well without outside aid. It is probable that enlightened self-interest on the part of landlords would dictate that landowners should contribute liberally to both institutions but local leadership on the part of tenants may be rather scarce and so far this interest in social welfare on the part of the landlords is rare.

Since, as a rule, the ambitious tenant looks upon both his position as a tenant and his location upon any given farm as easily changed he is very likely to give more weight to the economic advantages than to social conditions. He will live on the farm which affords a chance to get a start and then move to the farm where social conditions are better.

Does a predominance of tenancy tend to cause a lowering of standards in a rural community? The answer usually given would be an unqualified yes or something like the following case: In one part of Maryland we find an owner saying: "In my father's day every home you see was occupied and owned by families of fine people. . . . This was as fine a country as could be found socially and every other way. . . . Today I am one of the few who own the farm upon which he lives. It is almost impossible to get these ignorant and suspicious tenants to coöperate even for their own good in matters of buying and selling. As for churches and schools, it doesn't make very much difference to them whether they exist or not."

In another part of Maryland where more than half of the farms have been operated by tenants for many years, a progressive tenant

farmer lamented the fact that the tenants of the present day are less progressive than was the case formerly.

These two cases are not cited as proof that the effects of tenancy are good or bad but simply to show that decline may come in the agricultural community with an increase in tenancy or it may come when tenancy is at a stationary high level. In neither case had farming been able to compete with other industries for the most wide-awake group of people.

What shall we say of class feeling developed with reference to farm tenants? It would indeed be unfortunate if in the selection of farmers, the opinion became general that only an inferior group would go into that occupation. There is little evidence that the alternatives to tenancy would help in this case. Neither an increase in the number of farm laborers nor in owners of small and poorly equipped farms would add to the favor in which agriculture is viewed by the public generally.

Another possibility is found in suggestions for the purchase of farms with very small down payments. All investigations show that the opportunity for financial success on the farm is limited under any of these conditions. While moneymaking is not the only measure of the desirability of farm life, it does play a big part in estimates by the public generally. So far as anyone has shown by investigation, the tenant who is making money has just as good a place in the community as an owner of the same character and financial standing. There may be some reason for thinking about this phase of the problem but there is little known about it as yet.

If the general assumption mentioned in the beginning is that the owner-operated farm is the goal of a satisfactory rural life then a wide distribution of ownership must be attained. Large holdings necessarily stand in the way of reaching this ideal.

Illustrations in this country are fairly numerous which show various characteristics of large holdings. It is quite difficult to generalize on the subject. Some of the earlier examples have changed management and now there is nothing to say about them. The speculative holdings belong mainly in the past and many of these are being broken up not for social welfare but because it doesn't

pay to hold any longer. The Miller and Lux lands furnish a good example of a breakup of this kind.

In analyzing the case either of large holdings or of tenant operated farms as affecting the social welfare of the farmer, the fundamental question seems to be the same. Does the ownership of land affect a farmer in such a way as to make the farmer a better member of society and to enable him to contribute more to the welfare of the whole social group? Examples are numerous in which the owner has worked and saved to pay for the mortgaged farm at the expense of the education of the family and a general lowering of the standards of life. In these cases it seems clear that country life is dragged down rather than elevated by ownership. The effort to pay for land may at times be the incentive that makes the farmer do his best, but balancing these two effects it is to be questioned whether there is a real gain in this ideal of the owner-operated farm, especially since much of this working and saving results in higher land values rather than higher living.

The disadvantage of the large holding to society may come from the fact that the most economical use of the land is delayed because the owner is satisfied with a small income per acre. For example, a large area of cultivable land may be used for grazing, bringing the owner an income sufficient to meet his wants. If he does not choose to sell or he is not tempted by the price offered, there may be social loss. On the whole, this is a minor phase of the question.

The large landowner does at times dominate the community merely because he is wealthy. This domination is no more serious than that of any other wealthy man.

It is not intended that this discussion shall be a defense of tenancy and large holdings but to show that the evidence that they are the causes of bad social conditions is not at all conclusive. The need at present is to have more investigation of these two problems as they are related to rural social welfare.

Chapter XIII

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Probably the most important change in rural life in the last decade has been the rapid growth of farmers' coöperative associations. The social significance of the movement has received wide discussion from various angles.

Although in Europe social and educational work has been one of the objectives of many coöperative societies and although some have advocated such a program for them in this country, Mr. Holman shows that the conditions are so different in the United States that these functions are unnecessary. Here social and educational activities are carried on for the purpose of strengthening the loyalty of the membership to the coöperative.

It is frequently held that the coöperative attitude developed in business will result in better coöperation in the affairs of school and church, and so will encourage school consolidation and put a stop to over-churching. This view tends to be emphasized by those who believe in coöperation as a principle and who seek to emphasize its values, but the concrete evidence for this belief is by no means clear. In any event this can be true only if a strong loyalty to the coöperative principle is developed in a local coöperative society.

The necessity of a strong local unit as the basis of any successful coöperative organization is being increasingly recognized, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Holman agrees with Director Frame and Professor Burr (see Chapter XVI, pg.

279) that developing better social attitudes may be the best means of strengthening the local coöperative society.

Dr. Nourse also emphasizes this need of a new social attitude, "the social or group point of view", on the part of farmers toward coöperative organizations if they are to have stability.

There seem to be two questions concerning the social relations of coöperative organizations which need further investigation and whose solution might throw important light on the methods of rural progress. First, can a coöperative organization succeed in an unsocial community or among unsocial people, and, second, does the coöperative association produce a better social relationship in other phases of community life? —D. S.

THE SOCIAL GOAL OF THE COÖPERATIVE

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Clearer thinking is needed as to the social rôle which the cooperative is to play in the community life. We need especially to distinguish between its objectives and the resultants of its activities.

In matters agricultural, enthusiasts of the English-speaking cooperative movement are accustomed to base their programs upon the famous formula, "Better Farming, Better Business, and Better Living," which Sir Horace Plunkett evolved when he founded the movement in Ireland. Due in part to his wholesome influence and in part to the peculiar Irish conditions the Irish societies have included efforts to attain the "three Betters" in nearly all of their activities while the organizers of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society lose no opportunity to preach this philosophy at every local meeting which they attend. Indeed, the district organizer of the I. A. O. S. might be likened to a glorified county agent in the United States.

But the Irish movement was confronted with entirely different

economic and social problems from those in rural America. In Ireland there was an almost total lack of government extension work which has preceded the last phase of the coöperative movement in this country, and there were no general farm organizations of importance which took on social activities or aided in the formation of coöperative societies.

On the continent of Europe, while there were many general farm organizations, they differed materially in their work from those in this country; and over there state-aided extension work has only begun to be important since the World War. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many parts of the Old World, and particularly in Ireland and Russia, social and educational activities should have become, in a measure, a direct objective of the coöperative movement. In Russia this need has been exceedingly great since the peasants constitute the larger proportion of the members of the coöperative societies and only from ten to fifteen per cent of them can read or write.

It also happens that the village organization of country life in parts of Europe and especially in Russia lends itself peculiarly to the educational program of the coöperatives. It is always easy to get a meeting in a village; and in a community where the news must be read aloud to a group, people are more likely to come together to seek information than in a community where half a dozen high-class journals are dropped into the letter-box of each farm, where a telephone connects with the town, and a radio with the outside world.

In Siberia, for example, I found several great chains of coöperative organizations which were taking their profits and turning them entirely into educational work rather than distributing them back as economic dividends. The Russian leaders said to me that they considered the social dividend of more importance to their people than the return of a few rubles to the individual member.

While believing implicitly in the value of this social work, I have wondered many times whether the coöperatives of Europe would continue to carry on such activities if there were also at play in each community the numerous social and educational forces that are available in the United States.

In this country, for example, we have in the dairy regions a very strong agricultural organization in the Grange, whose mission is primarily to encourage the social life of the farm community. In other sections where the Grange is not strong, we find the county farm bureau carrying on perhaps in a more limited way this social work, and in other sections we find the Farmers' Union doing about what its sister organizations, the Grange and the Farm Bureau, are doing.

Then we have the resident extension agents. I am advised that there are now 2606 county agents, 1132 women demonstration agents, 177 men and 73 women engaged in club work, 789 men specialists and 189 women specialists doing extension work. In other words, 4,865 men and women are now on the federal and state payrolls devoting their entire time to group work with the farm people of this country. There is also a bill pending in the Congress to make it possible to increase the number of resident extension workers until the number of women workers equals the number of men and every agricultural county in the United States is adequately provided. I find also that in 1925 there were 224,633 boys and 340,413 girls enrolled in the boys and girls' club work carried on under the Smith-Lever fund.

In addition, quite a number of the great farm journals of this country have, for years, followed a policy of establishing farmers' clubs and assisting these clubs to work out community betterment projects. In some of the Eastern States, like Maryland, Farmers' clubs have been in existence for many generations and contribute materially to the social life of the communities. It is not surprising, therefore, that those responsible for the conduct of the thousands of local coöperatives should feel, in many instances, that their particular responsibility lies in making the coöperatives successful business institutions rather than in allowing a part of the activities to be devoted to things of an educational and a social nature.

Notwithstanding this easily understood attitude, the building and carrying-on of a soundly organized coöperative constitutes a definite contribution to adult education and to the social life of the community. The very act of being a responsible member of a coöperative enterprise which either buys or sells or banks for its mem-

bers, gives to many a farmer a lesson in business ingenuity and contact with the business world and an enhanced feeling of self-respect and power which, unfortunately, the industrial age has tended to destroy among our rural people.

At this point it may be said that the older farm organizations, such as the Grange and the Farmers' Union, have done pioneer work in training farm leaders and in training the rank and file of the membership to orderly procedure in their locals.

It is also noted that when men and women have come together in their coöperative and learned the principles of the movement, which are considerably deeper than the mere dollars and cents side of it, gradually and insensibly perhaps they have become imbued with broader conceptions of social responsibilities. I know of many coöperative associations which annually set aside a part of their surplus earnings to be devoted to educational work. This educational work oftentimes consists in supporting a lyceum course, or in bringing to the community noted speakers and sometimes noted artists. I have seen men and women in a coöperative association vote assessments upon themselves to carry on some public work. I have seen them, after finishing the discussion of their association affairs turn to a discussion of school taxes, or good roads bond issues, or drainage problems, or a tax for forest fire protection.

I have been particularly interested in the increasing number of the larger coöperative associations whose leaders realize that upon them lies a responsibility of educating other persons to the value of the coöperative movement, and these organizations have expressed that attitude by subscribing regularly to financing the American Institute of Coöperation.

I think it fair then to draw the conclusion that in the United States the "Better Living" part of the Plunkett slogan must be considered to be a resultant rather than a direct objective of the work of a coöperative society. In reaching this conclusion I draw perhaps upon the experience of the Danes where the coöperative spirit appears to be more thoroughly diffused among an enlightened body of farmers and the psychology of the coöperative movement appears to be more clearly understood than in any other community of like size in the world. There the average farmer

belongs to from two to six or seven economic societies and these societies devote themselves primarily to the business for which they were formed. But almost every Danish community also has a special society for the promotion of things social and educational, and these societies have built community houses which are used as community centers and which also the coöperative associations use as meeting places, paying therefor a rental, for it is a matter of principle in Denmark for every person to pay value received for everything he gets. This situation, no doubt, is duplicated in many farm communities in the United States, particularly in those communities where there are grange halls or country high schools which have been built for community needs as well as the needs of the school children.

And yet, coöperative leaders throughout this country are now rapidly coming to the conclusion that although the social resultant of the coöperative may not be an objective, still the social opportunities of community life must now be utilized as an instrument in building the coöperative itself. This is particularly true of these coöperative organizations which include several thousand or more members with contacts direct from the association to the individual member, such as the centrally controlled milk, tobacco and cotton organizations.

These organizations are finding that one of their principal problems lies in developing a new kind of field-work whose main purpose is to keep their members loyal so as to produce as nearly as possibly a 100 per cent delivery of the product, and also to keep the individual member of the organization thoroughly informed as to every internal and external problem that confronts the group. They have found that the ordinary type of field-meeting does not continue to hold the interest of their members. For example, one of our milk associations in the eastern part of the United States for several years has been carrying on an intensive campaign to improve the quality of the milk. Nearly every farmer has been called out to a meeting from two to three times and has heard the story over and over again. Each meeting produced some good results, but the association has discovered that it must modernize its program. It has found, for example, that a farmer may much

prefer to stay home and listen to a concert or a high-power lecture over the radio, to getting into his car and driving in the rain to a school house to listen to a man from the association tell him how he must spend more money to improve his milk supply.

In considering this question that association hit upon the expedient of a one-act play which would tell the story, furnish amusement and get results. Recently it tried out this drama in a typical Maryland community. The results were splendid. It is now proposed to have this play enacted in every branch by local talent.

A new technique of field organization is called for if the larger coöperative associations are to carry on and to build; and a new type of program for the local is one of the essentials of this new technique. The farmer is becoming more critical of the quality of speakers. He is responding more to music and with the modern competition of a social character all around us the coöperative associations are now searching not only for programs but for men and women capable of carrying such programs into effect.

Years ago I realized that while I was working on the "Better Living" side of the movement I had placed the cart before the horse. So I passed out of the field of a promoter of social centers in rural communities into the field of the coöperative movement because I realized that country people will not continue to come together just for the sake of coming together and for social programs alone. In consequence, for fifteen or more years I have been working on the Better Business side hoping to see in my life-time the economic basis made secure for the rural community to step upon the high place of Better Living. I now am convinced that this second stage of the coöperative movement in which it is seeking to utilize what was the social by-product, as a definite instrument for promoting the economic objective, will bring about at an earlier date the realization of both "Better Business" and "Better Living" in the rural community.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

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It has frequently been remarked that the coöperative movement in the United States, particularly during recent years, has been characterized by a very strong emphasis on purely economic considerations or, indeed, a "hard-boiled" business attitude in which aggressive methods of competition, even to the verge of exploitation, have been followed. Whatever, the degree of co-partnership evolved within the group, the attitude toward outsiders—"the public"—has in many cases been as truculently self-seeking as that of any incorporated big business.

This attitude is much in contrast to the social reorganization ideals of the pioneers in the field of coöperation and such god-parents as Robert Owen or Fourier. It is probably true in the main that Utopian or social reform ideas pertain more naturally to the consumer or industrial laborer phases of the coöperative movement than to cooperation among farmers. At the same time, however, the more thoughtful students of coöperation in the United States are coming definitely to the conclusion that the success of the movement among agriculturists in this country to-day bids fair to have its success threatened, or at least curtailed, if it does not put social considerations in a position of greater importance.

This is not to say that the social point of view is by any means absent. There are two distinct ways in which one finds it expressed among our coöperatives, although the social philosophy of the movement has been by no means fully grasped or accepted by the rank and file of membership, or even of officials and managers. These two expressions of the social implication of the coöperative movement may be described respectively as external and internal. The first expresses the ideal of service to the public—honest, dependable goods of high quality at prices fairly related to conditions and costs of production, effort being constantly exerted to lower such costs and improve quality and service. The second concerns the group re-

sponsibilities, discipline, and constructive effort which must be developed by the individual membership of coöperative organizations if the whole movement is to succeed in any large way.

When a coöperative organization starts out to build a broad and permanent market for its product, it soon becomes apparent that results can be achieved only in proportion as it builds up a reputation and establishes a trade and consumer preference for the product of the coöperative. It becomes evident also that the public will not have that good-will which causes them to call for the product and to sympathize with the objectives of the association furnishing it unless there has been developed in their minds a belief in the sincerity of the producers and the genuine worth of their product. This is achieved only in proportion as the coöperative furnishes a means of bridging the long chasm between the original producer and the ultimate consumer, so that under the more complex conditions of modern economic organization the personal relationship with all its social values is re-established—and, we may add, re-established on a plane of more effective organization than in the earlier and simpler stages of direct calling by individual producer to individual consumer.

Probably one of the very best illustrations of this social value of coöperative organization is to be found in the case of coöperative milk marketing. Here the organization has a real belief in the health value of its product and the service which it can render in popularizing the use of this product. It has a definite responsibility also for the maintenance of high sanitary standards. Third, however, it faces the necessity of satisfying the consumer that the price which he is asked to pay is as low as is possible in view of the cost of producing a product of proper quality and handling it with as great efficiency as it is possible for a large-scale organization to develop. The "conference" method of collective bargaining for a scale of milk prices presents a very fine example of the social process of give and take with organized producers arguing for a return to the farmer which will give him as high a standard of living as his city brother at the same time that the city consumer is arguing for a price which will give him this wholesome ingredient of his diet at as low a price as possible, and each challenging the other to do whatever is possible

in the way of eliminating wastes or unnecessary costs in the handling of the business.

Likewise, the fruit grower who puts the big berries on the top of the box, or uses the "stove-pipe pack" for his apples, must bring his conscience up to the plane of exact standardization before he can function in the membership of a coöperative association. One of the important cotton coöperatives has gone so far as to take back cotton which has been accepted by the receiving department of a big mill and paid for by the company simply because the president told them that the product manufactured from this cotton was being found by consumers not be come up to the customary standard. When co-operation gets to this point of putting service to the buyer above all other considerations, it is clear that it has developed distinct social values.

The second social product of the coöperative movement concerns the attitudes and actions of the member with reference to his own group organization. If coöperative enterprise is to succeed in any measure, it must do so by reason of the coördinated, dependable group action of its members. The very initiation of a coöperative enterprise reflects a consciousness of common interest and joint purpose which itself puts a producer group in a quite different posture for further economic activity. The writer is a firm believer in the value and importance of the producer's contract as a feature of standard coöperative organization. But experience has shown that to place reliance on the letter of this document and to secure membership by a high-pressure campaign for getting signatures on the dotted line, instead of getting that consciousness of "common interest and joint purpose" referred to above as essential for the effective working of any coöperative project, is to invite disaster.

A large amount of experience is accumulating to demonstrate that the weakest point in coöperative enterprise in this country at the present time is the tendency of members to be "in and outers," to "shop around" between their own coöperative and other marketing agencies, and to judge often very incorrectly on very inadequate evidence the value of the coöperative on a purely dollars and cents basis. Whatever the possible benefits which may come to coöperative organizations through improvements of selling efficiency, of technical

methods of handling the product, or of business management within the organization, I believe confidently that manyfold more advantages will accrue from the whole souled acceptance of the social or group point of view on the part of members by and large. In other words, once a majority of our farmers adopt fully and frankly the belief that the problems of modern complex marketing are not to be adequately handled by the individual, be he ever so good a "natural born horse-trader," then we shall have the proper psychological background for successful coöperation.

This means the acceptance of the point of view that the individual can function most efficiently under modern conditions only by becoming a full working member in a group organization, whose size is commensurate with the industrial interests involved, but which has its methods of operation, its discipline, its adjustment of responsibility and benefits carefully worked out in the interest of efficiency and equity under control of the whole membership through a democratic system of government. When one accepts that philosophy, not only does he put himself in the position of receiving any expected benefits of coöperation but also in a position of responsibility for producing those conditions of joint, and to some extent controlled action out of which such benefits can definitely be produced.

In European countries coöperative organizations frequently perform social functions outside the strict sphere of their commercial activities, such as maintaining libraries, classes, sick relief, and recreational facilities. In America these functions are already in the main provided by other agencies. However, the coöperative movement, resting on the chief financial interest of a community, has a great power for social good if it merely develops and trains the social consciousness of its members. It thereby makes them better material for every social institution with which they come in contact.

Chapter XIV

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF RURAL HEALTH

The preceding chapters have been chiefly concerned with the social effect, the social losses or gains, of various economic factors in farm life. The following four chapters seek to answer the question "To what extent is human welfare essential to economic efficiency in agriculture?" They deal with the economic value of health, education, sociability and beauty. The writers show that all of these social goods have a very direct bearing on economic values and economic efficiency. There is a general conviction that religion and recreation also have very real economic values. As yet our data are very inadequate for making any accurate measurement of these economic values, and from the nature of the relationships involved any accurate measurement will be difficult. It is not, of course, to be inferred that these social goods should be measured merely in terms of their economic value, but only that economic welfare is to a considerable degree dependent upon the adequacy of these other phases of human welfare.—D. S.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF HEALTH

W. F. Draper,
Assistant Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service

In the field of public health there is to be observed an outstanding anomaly of modern science. The achievements of scientific medicine since the time of Pasteur have made available to the people the means by which they might, in large measure, be freed from the burden of sickness. Yet a large number of preventable disorders still impose

a toll of billions of dollars upon the nation each year, and cause widespread suffering, inefficiency and disability. Preventable diseases are not prevented largely because adequate funds and personnel have not been available.

In the United States there are at most times, about 2,000,000 persons seriously ill; of these approximately 600,000 are in hospitals. The number of persons "who either have diabetes or will develop it, is about 1,000,000." There are at all or most times about 700,000 tuberculous persons. Of the children and young people now in schools and colleges, almost 1,000,000 will enter hospitals for mental diseases at some time in their lives, if present rates for first admissions continue. In one recent year there were over 100,000 cases of smallpox, a disease which might have been eradicated years ago. In addition there are a multitude of defects and minor ailments which cause an inestimable amount of inefficiency. The burden of these maladies falls upon the rural districts quite as much as upon the cities.

Other diseases impose an even heavier toll upon the country. Each year probably 700,000 or more persons are sick with malaria. Hookworm disease, about ten years ago, affected, according to one estimate, over 4,000,000 persons south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi. Although its prevalence has been greatly reduced, many thousands still suffer from it. Pellagra, confined chiefly to rural areas, affects more than 25,000 persons chiefly in country districts of the south.

In general, perhaps 50 per cent of disabling diseases might be prevented. Some disorders might be almost entirely eliminated by the application of measures already developed. These include malaria, smallpox and hookworm disease.

The money cost of preventable disease cannot be computed accurately, but conservative estimates are practicable. Data are available which indicate that the cost to the public for disabling diseases, including the services of physicians and nurses and hospital service, is over $2,000,000,000 each year, that approximately $700,000,000 is being spent for medicines alone and that the cost of decreased efficiency due to defects and minor ailments, entails an annual loss of perhaps $3,000,000,000. Finally, it has been estimated that the

total capital value of lives now needlessly lost because of disease, is over $6,000,000,000. Using the conservative estimate that at least 50 per cent of disabling diseases, defects and minor ailments are preventable, and assuming that 50 per cent of this loss falls upon the rural districts of the United States, it seems safe to say that the annual economic cost of preventable diseases in rural communities is well over four billions of dollars.[1]

The staggering cost of disease in rural districts is due largely to the inadequacy of existing medical and health services. At present there is a conspicuous shortage of physicians in the country. According to a report prepared by Matthias Nicoll, New York State Commissioner of Health, based upon data received from thirty-six of the forty-eight States, there is a universal tendency among physicians to abandon the rural districts in favor of cities, of those remaining a large portion are of the older generation, there is little tendency among recent graduates to seek practice in small communities and in hundreds of rural districts medical care is strikingly inadequate or absolutely lacking. The shortage of hospitals is equally serious. Of the 3,068 counties in the United States, 44.6 per cent in 1925 had no hospital for local or community use. In some States the supply is less adequate than in others. In Georgia, for instance, only 41 counties out of a total of 160 had a hospital of any kind for the use of the general population. In Florida only 23 out of 63 counties had such hospitals; in Texas only 96 out of 253 counties; in Missouri only 43 out of 115 counties; and in Kentucky only 46 out of 120 counties.

The responsibility of controlling communicable diseases, and (to a large etxent) of combating malaria and hookworm disease, rests upon official departments of health. Yet of 2,850 rural counties, there were at the beginning of 1927, only 337 which had whole-time county health officers, although in a few other counties there were whole-time public health nurses in charge of organized work. The Federal government makes available approximately $100,000,000 each year for the construction of rural post roads (with the under-

[1] Fifty per cent of the sum of the first three amounts is $2,850,000,000. To this amount $6,000,000,000 is added in order to give the total cost of preventable disease in the United States. Fifty per cent of this total gives $4,425,000,000, the approximate cost in rural districts.

standing that each State accepting its proportion of these funds appropriate a like amount), while the government appropriates only $50,000 to $75,000 a year (less than one-tenth of one per cent of the larger amount) for the development of rural health work. No thoughtful health officer would begrudge the money used for good roads—he knows that they bring the farmer into closer touch with rural physicians and nurses. He would not have less money spent for roads but more provided for public health work. For the activities of city, rural, State and Federal public health agencies combined there was available in 1923 about $70,000,000—less than one-twenty-second (1/22) of the money spent that year for tobacco, and approximately one-third (⅓) of the money expended for coffins and funerals. Surely, were the people of rural America familiar with these facts, they would take steps to spend a more nearly adequate amount of money for public health work.

Efficiently organized health and medical activities result not only in a reduction in the amount of sickness and the number of deaths, but, in many instances they bring about a specific saving of money. Hookworm infection among certain sections of Virginia a few years ago affected nearly 100 per cent of the school children, and many adults were pallid, anemic and sick. "Thanks to the State Board of Health," recently wrote a physician practicing in these sections, "these same people are now healthy, prosperous and happy. I know of several families of prosperous farmers that are now enjoying touring cars of their own, who, a few years ago, on account of hookworm, were more or less dependent on charity."

Substantial reductions in the prevalence of malaria have been brought about at an average annual per capita cost of about $1.00; and reductions achieved by demonstrations have been maintained at an average annual cost of only 25 cents per capita. After a farmer has paid a physician $50.00 a year to attend various members of his family suffering from malaria, and then, after he has paid $1.00 extra on his tax bill for the support of a program of malaria control measures, he finds that he does not have to call a doctor for twelve months on account of this disease—such an experience is not uncommon in the rural districts of the south—there is little question in

the farmer's mind regarding the profitableness of this type of public health work.

Within natural limitations every rural community can determine its own death rate, and, what is more important, money will buy health and bring to farmer and city dweller alike a higher degree of efficiency and joy in living.

Chapter XV

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF RURAL EDUCATION

There is a very general belief that an education, i.e., school or college training, is an economic asset. It is commonly believed that education is a good investment financially and that the community, state and nation receive direct returns for school taxes in an increased economic efficiency. This belief is particularly prevalent regarding technical education.

In this chapter Professor Works summarizes the available statistics concerning the relation of schooling to the labor income of farmers. There is no question that those with more schooling have larger labor incomes, but whether the one is caused by the other the writer regards as unproven. He points out three means whereby those who attend high school are selected so that they possess advantages which enable them to make larger labor incomes but which are not due to ability acquired in school. Professor Works does not deny that there is a real economic value in education, and particularly in technical education, but he holds that no conclusions can be drawn from the statistical data available. His article is, therefore, a challenge to educators to demonstrate the truth of the claims they make as to the economic value of school training.

This does not mean, however, that there is no economic value in schooling. Schooling undoubtedly gives rise to a larger number of wants, it stimulates a higher standard of living, and therefore incites greater economic efficiency. Man's common sense interpretation of his experience that education pays is doubtless more reliable in this case than the evidence which has attempted to prove it statistically.—D. S.

SCHOOLING AND ECONOMIC RETURNS IN FARMING

GEORGE A. WORKS,
Professor of Rural Education, Cornell University

An attempt will be made in this chapter to present data bearing on the relation between amount of schooling possessed by farmers and their financial return in the form of labor income. In addition to summarizing the data of appropriate studies the present writer has selected the interpretative comments made by the investigators in connection with the reporting of their findings. The reader will find that the data, as reported, are consistent in showing that when farmers are grouped according to the amount of schooling they possess that those with the greater amount of schooling have a larger labor income than those who have had less schooling. He will also find those with the greater amount of schooling have a larger labor labor income was entirely, or almost entirely, a direct result of schooling. For the most part they believe that the larger labor income is to be explained entirely in terms of a causal relationship between schooling and financial returns to the farmer.

In addition to reporting data on the relationship between schooling and labor income, together with the interpretations of these data, certain fallacies will be pointed out with reference to the conclusions that have been drawn. However no attempt will be made to prove that a causal relationship does or does not exist between amount of schooling and labor income of farmers. On this point the present writer finds himself forced to the conclusion that data are not available to answer this question with any considerable degree of reliability. That there may be other values issuing from school attendance aside from increased labor income is not gainsaid. It is the purpose of this discussion to give consideration to labor income only.

One of the early studies pointing out a correlation between labor income in farming and amount of schooling was prepared by Warren and Livermore. In this study the following table occurs: [1]

[1] G. F. Warren, K. C. Livermore and others. An Agricultural Survey. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station. Bulletin 295, p. 552.

TABLE I

PROFITS AND EDUCATION. 573 OWNERS. 137 TENANTS.[2]

Education	Farms operated by owners		Farms operated by tenants	
	Number of farmers	*Owner's labor income*	*Number of farmers*	*Tenant's labor income*
District School	398	$318	113	$407
High School	165	622	24	473
More than High School.	10	847	0	

In commenting on the data the authors of the bulletin make this statement:

"The objection might be raised that these farmers with higher education made more money, not because of their education, but because they possibly had a better start in business, that many of them probably inherited farms and other property. This is probably not true but a comparison has been made which would overcome such an objection.

"Farmers of the different groups with the same capital are compared. Two groups are used, district school and more than district school. In every capital division the farmers with more than district school education made a greater labor income than those with only a district school education. The farmers with the better education use their capital more effectively. That is, if given an equal start at the beginning of a year the farmers with more than a district school education are ahead at the end of the year. On the average the high school farmers have made $211 more than the district school farmers with the same capital." [3]

The data on which this statement is made appear in Table II.

The writers point out that only three or four of the farmers had received instruction in agriculture in school or college and conclude their discussion with the statement:

"We must conclude then that the striking differences in profits are due, not to the teaching of the applied subjects, but rather to the extra mental training. If the same training has been received in the

[2] G. F. Warren, K. C. Livermore, et al: An Agricultural Survey. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 295, p. 552

[3] Ibid., pp. 552 and 553.

TABLE II

EDUCATION RELATED TO PROFITS WITH EQUAL CAPITAL [4]

Capital	District School		More than District School	
	Number of farmers	*Labor income*	*Number of farmers*	*Labor income*
$ 2,000 or less	31	$ 187	3	$ 286
2,001– 4,000	146	241	36	275
4,001– 6,000	122	398	49	466
6,001– 8,000	50	395	40	709
8,001–10,000	28	618	13	796
10,001–15,000	18	525	25	1,091
Over 15,000	3	1,054	9	1,272
Average	—	$ 488	—	$ 699

[4] G. F. Warren, K. C. Livermore, et al: An Agricultural Survey. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 295, p. 553.

study of subjects pertinent to the industry, how much greater would the differences have been." [5]

In commenting on the data in table 1 in another connection one of the authors makes the following statement:

"A high school education is worth more than an investment of $6,000 at five per cent. We do not have figures for a large number of college men, but a college course seems to be worth as much more. Time spent in school seems to be worth about $7 per day to a farmer." [6]

A similar relation between amount of schooling and the labor income of the farmer is shown by data from Indiana, Illinois and Iowa (Table III).

In the text accompanying this table the authors say that:

"Unquestionably one of the best things for a young man who intends to become a farmer is a good high school education. Many farmers with very little schooling succeed, but these same men would do better if they had an opportunity for further training. . . .

". . . Those men having the best training made the largest incomes, although they were materially helped in doing this by much larger farms and greater capital." [7]

[5] Ibid., p. 553.
[6] G. F. Warren, Farm Management, p. 306.
[7] E. H. Thompson and H. M. Dixon: A Farm Management Survey in Three Representative Areas in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin 41, pp. 38 and 39.

TABLE III

RELATION OF THE OWNER'S OR TENANT'S EDUCATION TO HIS INCOME ON FARMS IN INDIANA, ILLINOIS AND IOWA.[6]

Education	Operated by owners (273 farms)					Operated by tenants (247 farms)				
	Number farms	*Average size (acres)*	*Average capital*	*Average labor income*	*Average age*	*Number farms*	*Average size (acres)*	*Average capital*	*Average labor income*	*Average age*
None at school	4	91	$15,039	$586	55	4	118	$1,650	$ 680	40
Common school	214	165	27,494	301	51	186	167	2,200	742	38
High school	46	206	37,725	651	46	51	190	3,203	1,268	33
College, etc.	9	240	42,781	796	53	6	294	3,351	1,721	41
Total or average..	273	178	$30,606	408	49.8	247	172	2,431	$ 870	37

[6] E. H. Thompson and H. M. Dixon: A Farm Management Survey in Three Representative Areas in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin 41, p. 38.

TABLE IV

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO PROFITS OF TENANTS WITH EQUAL CAPITAL.[8]

Units of Comparison	Capital and training							
	$1,000 and less		$1,001 to $2,000		$2,001 to $3,000		Over $3,000	
	Common School	*High School*	*Common School*	*High School*	*Common School*	*High School*	*Common School*	*High School*
Number of farms	23	3	73	19	54	12	40	23
Average size—acres	69	109	138	123	184	165	251	266
Average age of farmers	36.4	29.3	36.9	31.1	39.8	28.3	39.5	36.8
Average capital	$686	$730	$1,517	$1,549	$2,427	$2,513	$4,023	$5,095
Average labor income	318	259	561	659	864	866	1,086	2,087

[8] E. H. Thompson and H. M. Dixon: A Farm Management Survey in Three Representative Areas in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 41, p. 39.

The basis for the last sentence of the above quotation is to be found in Table IV. It should be noted that the differences are not marked except in the group with a capital of more than $3,000.

Additional significant data from New York are contained in Tables V, VI, VII, VIII.

TABLE V

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO LABOR INCOME.

98 Farms, Otsego County, New York.[9]

	Number of farmers	*Labor income*
District School	56	$ 547
High School, 2 years or more	42	1,000

TABLE VI

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO LABOR INCOME.

Farm Owners, Jefferson County, New York.[10]

	District School	*High School*
Number of farmers	292	112
Average age	51	49
Years in school	8.9	2.0
Capital above debts	$6,488	$10,000
Labor income	464	761

TABLE VII

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO PROFITS.

32 New York Farmers Keeping Complete Cost Accounts in 1919.[11]

	College graduates	*Winter Course Students*	*No Agricultural College Training*
Number of farms	10	12	17
Capital at beginning of year	$22,225.65	$24,917.54	$20,992.75
Value of farm	$17,606.15	$15,919.38	$14,313.07
Acres per farm	219	171	153
Labor income	$3,395.21	$2,422.78	$1,135.14

[9] Otsego County Farm Bureau. Some Factors which influenced the Profitableness of Farming in Otsego County. Wharton Valley Survey.

[10] Data in possession of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management. Cornell University.

[11] G. F. Warren, et al.: Based on a table in Cost Accounts for Six Years on Some Successful New York Farms. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 414, p. 29.

TABLE VIII

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO LABOR INCOME.

Farmers in Jefferson County, New York. Who Started as Hired Men Not at Home.[12]

	District School	*High School*
Number of men	161	24
Age became owner	36	35
Capital above debts	$6,264	$9,778
Labor income	440	678

In the text connected with Table V the following statement appears.

"The amount of education seems to have a direct bearing on the labor income. Of the ninety-eight farm operators, fifty six secured no more education than the district school afforded, except a few who attended high school for one year. On the average these men made a labor income of $547. There were six who made as much as $1,000. The forty-two men who secured two years or more of high school work (three attended Cornell, one took the short course, one a two-year special and the other graduated) made an average labor income of $1,000, eighteen of whom were above that average. . . .

"The probabilities are that part of the labor income of the operators can be attributed to the larger amount of capital they controlled from previous savings. The better education they had is probably due to the fact that their parents were financially able to send them to school. Education does not make a man, it develops him. It was without a doubt a factor in determining the amount of labor income of the coöperators." [13]

From another source come the following statement and data.

"There is no lack of evidence that education in agriculture gives worthwhile financial returns. Our department of Rural Economics has reports from over one thousand farms on which complete records have been kept for one or more years. The farmers are of all degrees of education and a tabulation shows that the average yearly labor incomes of the different classes are as follows:

[12] Data in possession of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management. Cornell University.

[13] Otsego County Farm Bureau, Wharton Valley Survey.

Farmers with high school education or less	$ 502.00
Farmers with some college work, not agricultural	644.00
Farmers with agricultural college training	1,422.00

"Cornell University has been conducting investigations of this nature for a number of years and reports on a group of some fifty men who have kept records for several years. The fact that these men have worked so long at farm accounting is an evidence that they are all above average, and the tabulation of their results is, therefore, especially interesting. These men were about equally divided into the three groups given in the table; hence the labor incomes are significant figures:

LABOR INCOME OF FIFTY NEW YORK FARMERS.

Farmers with no agricultural education	$1,100.00
Farmers with short course in agriculture	2,200.00
Farmers with four-year course in agriculture	3,300.00

There can be no doubt that a college or school course in agriculture pays good financial dividends on the expense involved." [14]

The following editorial discussion of this problem occurred in the World's Work.[15]

"The university has seemed to be a natural preparation for the law and medicine or for literature; but the tilling of the soil is mankind's primal occupation, and the less scholastic training the 'dirt farmer' possessed the better might he be supposed to do his job. Yet investigations conducted in such farming states as Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio, Washington, New York and Maryland indicate that his conclusion will have to be revised. These widely scattered states are certainly representative of the American farming community as a whole, and the fact that they answer the educational question with a unanimous affirmative makes the demonstration exceedingly effective.

"The conclusion is that an apparently invariable law is operating in so fundamental an occupation as farming. This is that the more education the farmer possesses the larger are his earnings. The

[14] Alfred Vivian: Agrarian 1922, Annual of the State School of Agriculture, St. Paul, Minn.

[15] Vol. 46, pp. 245-246. July, 1923.

method used in discovering this law was a simple and obvious one."

The following data on 1237 farms reported by the Kansas Agricultural College are given in connection with the editorial as illustrative of the means by which the generalization was reached.

Education of Farmers	*Annual Earnings*
Common school	$ 422
High school	554
College partial course	859
Completed college	1,452

It remains to give consideration to some factors that may have been overlooked by those who interpreted the above data. In this connection there are two points that should be borne in mind.

1. The data are consistent in showing a positive correlation between extent of schooling and amount of labor income.

2. Those who have interpreted the data are in agreement in stating that this correlation is due to a causal relationship. None indicate that it may be largely a concomitant relationship. They disagree only on the degree of emphasis they place on the part that schooling plays. This difference in emphasis makes its only appearance in the interpretation of data from Otsego County.

If schooling contributes directly to the efficiency of the farmer it must be due to either one or both of the following:

1. It results in the acquisition of knowledge, skills, or attitudes that are of assistance to the farmer in meeting the special problems of his occupation.

2. It gives him a mental training that better equips him for handling his occupational problems, or any other problems.

The authors of the Tompkins County survey are evidently inclined to accept the view that the increased efficiency is due to "mental training." This view is hardly in accord with the findings of recent researches in educational psychology. Space will not permit of more than one brief statement which may be taken as fairly representative of the present accepted view:

"The traditional theory was (1) that the amount of general improvement due to studies was large; and (2) that the differences between studies in respect of it were large, so that the value of a

study as training for the intellect was of very great importance relative to its value as special training in mathematical or linguistic or spatial or other thinking; and that (3) mathematics and languages gave much more of this general improvement than other studies did. The facts of (this study) if corroborated by similar experiments, *prove that the amount of general improvement due to studies is small:* [16] that the differences between studies in respect to it are small, so that the value of studies may be decided largely by consideration of the special training which they give; and that the languages have no claims to preëminence." [17]

It must be evident that this view does not substantiate the statement expressed in the following words which has been previously quoted:

"We must conclude then that these striking differences are due, not to the teaching of applied subjects but rather to the extra mental training."

It is not surprising that the authors of this statement were led to accept the view that mental training was the explanation of the larger labor income of those who had attended high school as contrasted with the group whose schooling was limited to the elementary school. They evidently could see little or nothing in the nature of "applied subjects" offered by the high school that could serve as an occasion for direct transfer from the work of the high school to the demands of farming.

In this they are supported by students of the secondary school curriculum. Two statements bearing on the subject will be given as illustrative of evidence available on the subjects:

"A study of 184 rural high schools chosen at random from the schools of each class on the basis of number of pupils enrolled indicates that on the average the pupil's time and energy are given in approximately the following per cents to the various subjects. These per cents are computed on the basis of all pupils actually enrolled in each subject in the 184 schools, taking into account the number of periods given each subject per week and estimating each pupil's program as being four subjects a day. These percentages do not

[16] The italics are the present writer's.

[17] Thorndike, E. L., The Journal of Educational Psychology, February 1924, pp. 96 and 97.

show the variation among different schools but do undoubtedly indicate approximately the relative amount of emphasis given the various subjects in the rural high schools as a whole.

"Percentage of pupil's time given to various subjects throughout the high school course:

	Per Cent
English	23.67
Latin	13.01
French	6.74
Spanish	0.89
Mathematics	17.68
Physical sciences (physics and chemistry)	2.91
Physical geography	0.70
Biological sciences (biology, botany, zoology, physiology)	7.66
Foreign history	5.86
American history and civics	6.01
Economics	0.06
Sociology	....
Study of Occupations	....
Agriculture	1.30
Homemaking	1.67
Mechanical drawing, woodturning, machine shop	0.48
Commercial subjects	5.99
Miscellaneous subjects	5.37

"The above data indicate that on the average over 44 per cent of the pupil's time is given to the study of languages including English, or almost 21 per cent excluding English. In other words, over one-fifth of all the time the rural boy or girls spends in high school is devoted to the study of a foreign language. Almost 18 per cent of his time is given to mathematics as compared with 11.27 per cent given in all the other sciences. In other words, he gives more time to the study of mathematics than he gives to the natural sciences and the social sciences, including American history and civics, but excluding foreign history. He gives as much time to the study of foreign languages as he gives to natural sciences, agriculture and the social sciences, excluding foreign history." [18]

In commenting on the work of the high schools in Indiana Dr. Inglis makes the following statement:

[18] Ferries, E. N., The Rural High School, pp. 153-154.

"Algebra is required during the first year by 93 per cent, during the second year by 56 per cent, and during the third year by 7 per cent of all high schools. Geometry is required during the second year by 66 per cent of all high schools and during the third by 57 per cent. Foreign language study occupies an equally favored position. It is required during the first year in 71 per cent, during the second year in 72 per cent, and during the third year in 16 per cent of all high schools. In small high schools the foreign language offered and required is all but universally Latin—less than 5 per cent of these schools offering any other foreign language." [19]

The discussion to this point should have raised a question of doubt regarding the possibility of explaining all the differences between the labor income of the farmer of high school training and the one who has attended only the elementary school in terms of either:

a) The high school having equipped him with knowledge, or skills, or attitudes directly useful to him as a farmer;

b) The high school having given him a mental discipline designed to prepare him to solve the problems of the farmer.

It remains to consider other factors that may have contributed to the marked difference in the labor income of the two groups of farmers. A significant factor has been overlooked in the studies from which data have been taken. The school is not only a means of instruction and training but it is also a selective agency. There is a constant process of elimination going on as pupils move through the schools. This elimination becomes very evident in the upper grades of the elementary school and throughout the high school. This fact is clearly brought out by the data in Table IX.

In this table Thorndike's figures are based on a study of conditions in 23 cities of 25,000 or over in 1906; Ayres on those in 58 cities in 1908; and Strayer's study included 133 cities of 25,000 or over and 186 cities of less than that size. These figures are not to be considered as exact but they undoubtedly give a fairly accurate picture of the extent to which pupils were eliminated at the time they were made. In general they are in accord with all studies that have been made of the persistence of pupils in school.

[19] Public Education in Indiana, p. 106.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE IN THE DIFFERENT GRADES OF THOSE BEGINNING THE FIRST GRADE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.[20]

Grade	Per cent remaining				Per cent eliminated			
	Thorndike *	*Ayres***	*Strayer****	*Average*	*Thorndike* *	*Ayres***	*Strayer****	*Average*
1	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
2	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
3	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
4	90	(100)	(100)	(97)	10	(0)	(0)	(3)
5	81	(100)	95	(93)	19	(0)	5	(7)
6	68	90	74	77	32	10	26	23
7	54	70	63	62	46	30	37	38
8	40	50	51	47	60	50	49	53
I	27	40	39	35	73	60	61	65
II	17	20	22	20	83	80	78	80
III	12	12	18	14	88	88	82	86
IV	8	10	14	11	92	90	86	89

* Thorndike, E. L., The Elimination of Pupils from School, Bureau of Education Bulletin (1907), no. 4, pp. 11, 47.

** Ayres, L. P., Laggards in Our Schools, p. 71, estimates from graph.

*** Strayer, G. D., Age and Grade Census of Schools and Colleges, Bureau of Education Bulletin (1911) no. 5, pp. 6, 135-136. The writer is responsible for the interpretation of the data there given.

In commenting on the elimination of pupils from high school Dr. Inglis states:

"Approximately two-thirds of the pupils who enter the first grade of the public secondary school leave school before the close of the course. About one-third of those who enter leave during the first year or before the beginning of the second year. About one-half leave before the beginning of the third year and about two-thirds leave before the beginning of the last year." [21]

It should be borne in mind that the amount of elimination has been decreasing somewhat in recent years. In all probability it was even greater than these studies indicate at the time the farmers reported in the labor income studies were in school.

In general it may be said that the school tends to select and retain those pupils who meet its demands with success. Those who are

[20] Alexander Inglis, Principles of Secondary Education, p. 128.
[21] Alexander Inglis, Principles of Secondary Education, p. 153.

unable to do this are retarded. Those who are retarded are more likely to be eliminated than are those who make normal progress. The data of Table X are significant in this connection.

TABLE X

ELIMINATION BY AGE AND GRADE IN NEW YORK CITY HIGH SCHOOL.* [22]

Age at entrance	*Per cent eliminated during the*				*Total eliminated (per cent)*
	First year	*Second year*	*Third year*	*Fourth year*	
Below 13.....	19	31	3	6	59
13.....	31	17	10	8	66
14.....	36	20	13	6	75
15.....	44	21	5	9	79
16.....	47	30	9	4	90

* Compiled and arranged from data given by Van Denburg, J. K.: Causes of Elimination of Students in Public Secondary Schools of New York City, p. 91. In the table 13 years means 13 years, 0 months, to 13 years, 11 months, etc.

At least one of the students of the relationship between labor income of the farmer and length of school attendance has recognized one aspect of selection. He has however been inclined to give it but little weight as is indicated by the following statement:

"It may be said that the more able persons are the ones who went to high school. This is partially true, but it is by no means universal. Studies in this country showed that accidents, such as distance to school, when the farmer was a boy, were very decided factors in determining the amount of education." [23]

The evidence submitted indicates that the school tends to select those who meet its demands with the greatest measure of success, when success is measured by normal progress from grade to grade. Additional significant facts are furnished by the results obtained from mental ability tests used in the studies of school population.

Table XI is illustrative of the fact that the school tends to select those pupils of the greatest mental ability as measured by mental ability tests. While Dr. Warren is undoubtedly justified in saying that it is not "universally" true that the ablest pupils attend high school, it is undoubtedly true that the school does tend to select

[22] Inglis, Alexander: Principles of Secondary Education, p. 134.
[23] Warren, G. F.: Farm Management, pp. 306 and 307.

from those who attend it the ones who on the whole do its work with success. It should also be observed that this selection begins in the grades and pupils in general are not admitted to the high school until they have completed the elementary school. The school also tends to select those who make the highest scores on mental ability tests. (See Table XI.)

TABLE XI

MILLER MENTAL ABILITY TEST.

Form A. Agriculture Students. Minnesota High Schools, 1926. Distribution of Scores by Grades.*

(9-12)

Scores	Grades				Total
	9	10	11	12	
110–119.9					
100–109.9			1		1
90– 99.9	6	13	11	3	33
80– 89.9	15	21	25	28	89
70– 79.9	59	54	39	30	182
60– 69.9	102	77	45	34	258
50– 59.9	95	69	27	20	211
40– 49.9	86	44	11	11	152
30– 39.9	51	18	5	2	76
20– 29.9	19	5	1	1	26
10– 19.9	4				4
0– 9.9					
Total	437	301	165	137	1040
Median age	15–3	16–2	17–0	18–0	16–2
Median score	56.1	61.8	68.5	70.1	61.9

* From an unpublished study by A. M. Field, University of Minnesota.

It remains to consider the question: To what extent is ability to do the work of the school well, or to attain a good score in a mental ability test, evidence of ability to meet the demands for financial success in farming? This question cannot be answered completely. It may fairly be said that such knowledge as we possess regarding the nature of intelligence leads us to expect a high degree of correlation between the capacity to meet the demands of the school and the demands for financial success in farming or in any

other line of human endeavor. This should not be interpreted to mean that other factors, *e.g.* attitude, are not important in making for success in farming. It means rather that when large numbers of persons are involved the mental ability that makes for success in school also makes for success in farming. The persistence in school is therefore evidence of the possession of qualities that will make for a relatively large labor income. Differently stated, the school selects those pupils who can succeed not only with its tasks but those who are most likely in the aggregate to meet successfully the demands of farming.

However, we are not obliged to limit our consideration of this aspect to theoretical considerations. Dr. Higbie [24] in a study of the qualities that make for success in general farming found a correlation of .73 between native intelligence and financial success. This, as will be indicated later, is considerably higher than the degree of correlation between schooling and financial success.

In commenting on native intelligence as making for success in farming Dr. Higbie says:

"So far as this study has data to determine, he (the successful farmer) must have a high degree of native intelligence—an intelligence probably more or less specialized, directly conditioning his ability to 'pick up' technical information and his managerial power." [25]

In view of these facts it is conservative to say that undoubtedly the larger average labor income of those with high school training as contrasted with those whose training was limited to the elementary school is partially due to the greater natural capacity of the former.

Further support for the view that the school is not directly as important a factor in increasing the labor income of the farmer as is implied by the quotation given above is to be found in Dr. Higbie's study. He reports the correlation between general education and financial success for two groups of farmers. In one case it was .47 and in the other .51.[26] It was distinctly lower than the correlation between financial success and such factors as native intelligence, agricultural information, etc.

[24] E. C. Higbie: An Objective Method for Determining Certain Fundamental Principles in Secondary Education, p. 21. Doctor's Dissertation, Columbia University. [25] Ibid., p. 46. [26] Ibid., p. 21.

A further factor that should have consideration is brought out by the discussion of the data from Otsego County. (Table I.) The author in that connection states: "The better education they had is probably due to the fact that their parents were financially able to send them to school." Such parents would also be better able to give their sons an initial advantage in starting because of their financial ability. This fact would be likely to be especially significant in case of those who attend college. This brings in another selective factor that has been usually overlooked in interpreting the data bearing on selection between labor income and amount of schooling.

When farmers are segregated on the basis of those who have had some high school training and those whose schooling has been limited to the elementary school, and the members of each of these groups arranged in another grouping on the basis of capital at the beginning of the year it will be found that those with high school training have a larger income than those who have not had such training in the same capital group. (Tables II and IV.) The difference in favor of the high school group is not nearly as large as when capital differences are ignored. For the farmers reported in Table I when no attention is paid to capital differences the average labor income of the high school group is $304 a year more than for the common school group. When the same farmers are arranged in equal capital groups (Table II) the average difference is due to be only $211.[27] The difference between the two averages is due to the fact that as the size of the capital groups increases the percentage of those having high school training increases. This fact lends some support to the view that part at least of the difference in labor income of the two groups may well be due to an initial financial advantage of the high school group. Of one thing we are certain, viz., that as the labor incomes for the two groups are ordinarily reported the differences are computed without regard to differences in capital and as a result differences due to capital are concealed. To this extent the statements are misleading. The number of farmers involved in these two tables is too small to be made the basis of final conclusions.

[27] It should be noted in this connection that if the arithmetic sum of the seven capital groups is used the difference would be increased. It would be $284 instead of $211. In the opinion of the writer the $284 is the better measure of the difference.

A further factor should have attention. In a survey of rural schools in New York State it was found that distance from high school influences attendance of farm children. In general the greater the distance of the child from high school the less likely he was to attend high school. This was especially true in the case of boys. The data on which these statements are made are found in Tables XII, XIII, and XIV.

TABLE XII

SHOWING THE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOL WHEN THEY MAKE THE TRIP DAILY BETWEEN SCHOOL AND HOME AND WHEN THEY DO NOT MAKE THE TRIP EACH DAY.*

County	*Returning home daily*					*Not returning home daily*				
	Numbers			*Percentage*		*Numbers*			*Percentage*	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Delaware	127	148	275	46.1	53.9	46	133	179	25.6	74.4
Tompkins	106	103	209	50.7	49.3	20	91	111	18.9	80.1
Monroe	313	306	619	50.5	49.5	6	36	42	14.2	85.8
Totals	546	557	1,103	49.5	50.5	72	260	332	21.6	78.4

* Geo. A. Works: Rural School Survey of New York State. Vol. II, p. 553.

TABLE XIII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF HIGH SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOL WHEN THE DISTANCE FROM HOME TO HIGH SCHOOL IS LESS THAN FOUR MILES.

Boys and Girls Separate.*

County	*Living less than four miles from high school and attending*				*Living less than four miles from high school and not attending*			
	Boys		*Girls*		*Boys*		*Girls*	
	No.	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*
Tompkins	83	48.5	88	51.5	38	58.4	27	41.6
Otsego	109	51.9	101	48.1	61	62.8	36	37.2
Total	192	50.4	189	49.6	99	61.1	63	38.9

* Geo. A. Works: Rural School Survey of New York State. Vol. II, p. 558.

TABLE XIV

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF HIGH SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOL WHEN THE DISTANCE FROM HOME TO SCHOOL IS FOUR MILES OR MORE.

Boys and Girls Separate.*

County	*Living four or more miles from high school and attending*				*Living four or more miles from high school and not attending*			
	Boys		*Girls*		*Boys*		*Girls*	
	No.	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*	*No.*	*Per-centage*
Tompkins	70	40.9	101	59.1	127	65.1	68	34.9
Otsego	78	42.5	105	57.5	97	69.2	43	30.8
Total	148	41.7	206	58.3	224	66.8	111	33.2

* Geo. A. Works: Rural School Survey of New York State. Vol. II, p. 558.

A similar study made in Iowa showed a like condition in that state.

In connection with these data on high school attendance consideration should be given to the findings in the Tompkins County survey on the relation between distance from market and labor income. (Table XV.)

TABLE XV

RELATION OF DISTANCE TO MARKET, TO PROFITS.*

Distance	*Farms operated by owners*		*Farms operated by tenants*	
	Number of farmers	*Average labor income*	*Number of farmers*	*Average labor income*
Miles				
1 or less	96	$464	14	$447
1 + to 2	140	598	41	554
2 + to 3	131	399	42	348
3 + to 4	83	356	17	387
4 + to 5	70	333	11	337
5 + to 6	31	278	11	266
6 + to 7	16	287	6	325
7 + to 8	12	169	1	71
Over 8	22	129	4	366

* G. F. Warren, K. C. Livermore, et al.: An Agricultural Survey, Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 295, p. 438.

In commenting on these data the authors say:

"The average owner who is within three miles of market makes about four times as large a labor income as that made by those who are over 7 miles from market." [28]

A factor in reducing the labor income for those at a distance from the market is the increased cost of getting the products to market. This would be especially significant in a dairy region like the one included in this study. It is undoubtedly a factor of more or less importance in all regions remote from market regardless of the type of farming. It also operates sometimes as a limiting factor in determining the type of farming in which the farmer can engage with profit.

In general the market center is also a high school center so that those children who live near market centers would have an increased chance of securing high school training. Especially is this true in the case of boys. To the extent this factor operates the available data show it to be very significant—it would tend to make for a larger labor income for those who had attended high school partly because they had less expense in getting their products to market, providing they are farming in approximately the same place as they lived during their period of attending high school.

This raises the question of the extent to which those farming in a community were reared in that same community. It has not been possible to find direct evidence on this question. Data having a significant bearing are available.

Young states: [29]

"A summary of the residences of 2072 men who were brought up on farms is given. . . . Of these, 74 per cent lived in the county of their birth, 18 per cent lived in other counties in New York, 7 per cent lived in other states in the United States and 1 per cent lived in foreign countries. A detailed examination of these data will show that most persons who lived in the county of their birth lived in the township of their birth."

In another connection he states:

[28] Warren and Livermore, et al.: An Agricultural Survey, Cornell University, Bulletin 295, p. 438.

[29] E. C. Young: The Movement of Farm Population, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 426, p. 24.

"Only about one-fourth of the persons brought up in a country community move outside the community." [30]

Undoubtedly the amount of movement of population varies with communities but there are reasons for thinking that it would not be as great in older farming communities such as the labor income records were taken from as it would be in newly settled areas.

It seems very likely in view of these facts that those who live close to high school are more likely to attend than those who live at greater distances, and that those who live near markets get a better labor income than those who live at a distance, and since the movement of farm population is not very pronounced in areas in which farming is well established a causal relationship is operative that tends to obscure one reason for the relatively large labor income of the high school graduate.

In summary it may be said that all the evidence in hand indicates the existence of at least three factors other than schooling that would tend to show a large labor income for farmers who have had high school training as contrasted with those who have attended the elementary school only. These factors are:

1. The tendency for the school to select and retain for a longer time those of greatest mental ability. It should be borne in mind that it is the utilization of native ability rather than just mere possession that makes for success.

2. The tendency for those who have the opportunity to attend high school to come from families having a financial status that would make it possible for the home to give them an initial financial advantage. The effect of this factor is obscured when no attention is paid to initial capital.

3. The selection by proximity to high school of those from farms in which nearness to markets gives a financial advantage.

In view of these facts it is conservative to say that the value of schooling as a factor in increasing labor income of the farmer is much overstated in the current discussions. These statements have for the most part overlooked the selective action of the school system, the initial financial advantage of those who come from homes

[30] Ibid., p. 29

of sufficient means to give them the opportunity to attend high school, and the relationship between distance from markets as affecting labor income and at the same time influencing the likelihood of the prospective farmer having an opportunity to attend high school.

Chapter XVI

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SOCIABILITY

Probably in no state has there been a more extensive analysis of community welfare than has been made in West Virginia by means of community scoring. The close correlation of the community scores for business and farms, the economic side of the community, with those for community spirit and recreation, the social aspect, is significant even though no causal relationship can be established.

However, when the ability to coöperate is measured by the success or failure of coöperative organizations, there is very definite evidence that sociability and friendliness are prerequisites to successful coöperation. Both Director Frame and Professor Burr have had large opportunity for personal observation upon this matter and they are agreed that non-cooperative people cannot be transformed into good coöperators by joining a coöperative marketing association. This principle is strongly emphasized by some of the leaders of the coöperative movement in Denmark and England. Evidence accumulates that friendliness and mutual confidence are essential for a successful coöperative enterprise.[1]

Other economic values of sociability might easily be cited, but this relation to the coöperative movement is so fundamental to rural progress that it is sufficient to establish the thesis of this chapter.—D. S.

[1] In this connection refer to the statement of Dr. Nourse, pg. 248.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SOCIABILITY IN RURAL LIFE

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The economic and the social aspects of life are inseparably interwoven. Causes and effects in both fields are so interactive that it is impossible to say, "Here is the effect of which this is the cause." It is very evident, however, that there are economic aspects of social activities, just as there are social aspects of economic activities.

Sociability might be considered as an attitude of friendliness of one individual toward another. It might exist as an attitude without being in any way expressed, if opportunities for expression were not present. In a larger consideration of it, there would be involved a group meeting together from time to time in friendly relationships.

Does it pay to be sociable?

It seems a simple question, and easy to answer, but we may find larger values involved than appear on the surface.

I. Any group in society may find ways of using sociability as an agency for the prevention of uneconomic action.

Jealousy and mutual suspicion destroy that faith in each other which is essential in successful trade relations. "To restore confidence" has been the announced purpose of every movement launched to bring us from "hard times" to "good times" in the field of commerce. This recipe for success where we are related to each other in economic activity, will work as well in the rural community as it will in the world at large. In fact, the only way that it will work in the world at large is to have it operative in the places where the people of the world live, and the majority of those places are rural communities.

It has been charged, and probably with some degree of evidence favoring the statement, that farm people are particularly inclined to be individualistic and seclusive; that there is mutual suspicion which seriously operates against the best interests of the group, both in social life and in economic life. To state such a fact is not in any way to attach blame to rural people of a former time, even if such a characteristic was theirs. The pioneer has to develop the

individualistic fighting instinct; he was forced to fight the elements, and was engaged in an unequal struggle to take care of himself and his family. If there were others in the area where he settled, there were among them hostile savages and cattle rustlers. To carve his home and his fortune out of the wilderness called for extreme individualistic effort. The farmer also remained for a longer period of time than did others in the self-sufficiency period, which was also the period of barter and trade in terms of goods. All of this made for a continuance of and emphasis upon seclusiveness and individualism. Therefore the now unnecessary attempt at self-preservation in an individualistic way, which we sometimes witness among rural people.

We are living in a time now which calls for mutual trust and reciprocity. Jealousy and suspicion do not belong in our present economic scheme. Whatever will help to eliminate them will be of economic advantage. Not to trade with a man simply because we have a prejudice against him, will often mean a loss of dollars and cents merely to satisfy that primitive instinct of furtive seclusiveness. To try to injure another man in his business because he has never become a friend of ours, may result in impeding economic production for the good of the entire community, including himself. This latter, merely in the interest of practicing revenge.

A rural community that is saturated with the spirit of jealousy and revenge is never prosperous in economic activities. In such a community, a social and recreational program often proves the beginning of those better feelings toward each other which result in starting new commercial relations which make for prosperity.

Communities can be found where litigation between neighbors (in the sense of people who live close to each other) is the common thing. "I'll have the law on him" is the most expensive slogan that an individual or a community can adopt. In some communities observed, where this slogan has become the common one, many farms can be found in the possession of lawyers in a distant city, with the former owners either living as tenants or having left the home community for jobs at wages. Each got the satisfaction of having "the law on him" in relation to his neighbor, and the price was confiscatory of the farm itself. Sociability, friendliness, neighborliness—

with these, people are saved from the costliness of litigation over straying livestock, line fences, and the other incidents that may be used to mar that most beautiful and beneficent of rural possessions, the sociable spirit.

Where rural sociability takes the aggressive form or planned recreation for young and old, it becomes very definitely an agency to prevent uneconomic action. Community recreation of wholesome form, well planned and adroitly supervised, is better and cheaper in preventing anti-social action, than are the county sheriff and any number of deputy sheriffs. The so-called "crime wave" could be halted much more effectively and at a much smaller cost by providing wholesome recreation for our youth, than by employing a larger number of officers, giving them sawed off shot guns,—and working the electric chair overtime. And what is more to the point, the latter method never has prevented wasteful crime, and the former method always makes a citizen instead of a criminal so that there are fewer persons for the law to deal with. The following example is typical of a great number that could be cited. In a rural community a platform dance was conducted down in the woods away from the better portion of the population. There was no supervision, and therefore without exception before the close of the affair on each occasion the sheriff was called in to make arrests in a shooting or stabbing affray. A local leader developed a community chorus at the natural center of the population area, introducing also on each evening before time for the chorus meeting, some mass games well directed. The anti-social dance disappeared for want of leadership and persons to attend. From the standpoint of deputies' fees, transportation of prisoners, court trial, jail maintenance—this was a tremendous saving to the county.

In the small town, many a boy who becomes a petty thief is only curious to begin with, and has the collecting mania. A nature club in which an adult leader will take the gang out into the woods and fields, and encourage them to collect botanical specimens, geological oddities, and Indian relics, will give both an educational and a recreational outlet for the collecting mania. The program will be conducted in the interests of the sociability of the boy gang, and becomes a preventive of uneconomic social conduct.

II. Sociability may be made an agency for inducing aggressive constructive economic activity.

One of the first rules that one may safely lay down for the development of successful economic coöperative organization, is that it be introduced in a community where the people are getting along well together in the social phases of their lives. Non-coöperative people do not make good coöperators. They must first learn to "play the game," and then can engage in the real test of making the game a serious one in terms of dollars and cents. Not only is a spirit of sociability necessary for the introduction of a coöperative organization or project, but it is just as necessary that a program of sociability continually parallel the economic projects of such an organization. In a coöperative, it often occurs that according to strict economic laws, the organization would fail; but the people believe in each other, they "bank on friendship," they introduce enough sentiment into the situation to make them willing to take for a while a personal loss in order to preserve the organization which means so much to them socially as well as in a business way. A great religious leader in rural work has recently said that he would encourage economic coöperation among farm people even if it did not pay better than individual effort; because first, he considers it the right relationship; and second, the sociability feature is worth more in the future development of the individuals and the community than is any financial return they could possibly get from the relationship.

Sociability brings people together, and when people are together they exchange ideas and experiences, so that the individual knowledge of how to do things successfully becomes the knowledge of all; in the long run, such a common fund of knowledge makes for economic success. In the case of the Farm Bureau tour to witness demonstrations of variety tests on many different farms, the object is very definitely an economic one; but what man who has ever spent a day with others on such a tour, will be able to draw a line between the economic values and the social values, or to say whether the former are greater than the latter in such an experience. The same is true of the boys' club tour to investigate the dairy interests of a county, and the girls' club tour to study improved farm homes. If there were not a strongly emphasized social feature to each such project, no boy or

girl would care to take the time and effort to make the tour; yet the economic value of the experience is often the real objective. Neither can it be told, in the results, whether the economic cause or the social cause was the more effective. The girls' tour causes the girl to determine that her home will be ideally arranged and conducted; and the home that she arranges and conducts becomes a social asset to herself and the community; but in turn makes it possible later for men and boys in that home to do a better piece of farm work, which makes more profits and in turn makes it possible to pay for greater social advantages in relation to the home.

When sociability develops, as it should, into expressional recreation, it becomes a great asset toward physical health and vigor. All of the muscles and organs of the body are exercised, giving nature a chance to develop exuberant vitality. The person who is healthful and has an excess of vitality, may work more days of the year and more years of a lifetime, has better judgment in economic matters, is more contented with his lot, and plus that saves the expense incident to preventable illness.

III. A program of sociability in the life of the individual as in that of the community must be conducted according to principles of good management. The fundamental law of good management is the "law of balanced proportions." There are certain factors to be considered in making up this product as in making up other products. There is in sociability a certain expenditure of time, money and energy. In rural life as in other types of living, there are forms and extents of sociability that must be classed under the head of dissipation, and whose results are destructive of economic welfare. When conviviality takes more than its share of time, when it takes money that is needed for sound economic investment, and when it takes energy which should be conserved for other necessary activities of life, then it is developed entirely out of proportion to other values and is destructive of individual and community well-being. Therefore it is not enough that rural America be encouraged to become social and recreational in its tendencies. There can now be found rural communities where organizations so vie with each other in seeking to win the people to social functions that there is little time left for home values, and not enough energy remaining for effective school

work on the part of youth and effective economic service on the part of adults. It is true that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," but it is just as true that all play and no work makes Jack a useless vagrant. We want him to be neither. If "Jack" be taken as representative of the community, then his case emphasizes the necessity of some very clear thinking and planning in developing the sociability phase of rural community life in America.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SOCIABILITY

NAT T. FRAME,
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A.—*Correlations from Score Cards*

Farming Neighborhoods in Cabell, Brooke, Monongalia, Harrison, Braxton, Pocahontas, Barbour, Lewis, Preston, Gilmer, Doddridge, Wood, Upshur Counties, West Virginia.

Average Scores

One hundred neighborhood score cards—	average	650	points
Same—Community Spirit and Recreation only	"	68	"
Same—Business and Farms only	"	62	"
The ten highest neighborhoods	"	765	"
Same ten—Community Spirit, Recreation only	"	79	"
Same ten—Business, Farms only	"	72	"
The ten lowest neighborhoods	"	508	"
Same ten—Community Spirit, Recreation only	"	51	"
Same ten—Business, Farms only	"	51	"

This scoring was done by some two dozen different extension representatives. Almost without exception they give a business and farming score in line with the score given for the sociability sides of community life. In other words our experiences with farming communities as analyzed on the basis of our score card standards demonstrate that sociability and economic income rise and fall together. Which corresponds to the hen and which to the egg we are not prepared to say.

B.—*Farm Labor.*

It is the common observation of extension workers in West Virginia that a larger number of dependable farm hands are available in isolated sections where there is little sociability or outside contacts. The families are apparently larger in these individualistic farm homes, hence more family labor. Not being in touch with outside jobs and predisposed to be unsociable the "hands" stay in the neighborhood.

Near the industrial centers sociability on the farm does not seem to be able to compete with industrial wages. We are not able to get any positive evidences that a farming neighborhood can afford to promote sociability solely as an investment, to be repaid by more efficient hired labor.

C.—*Ability to Coöperate.*

That the lack of social life in the past is at least a contributing factor in making it psychologically impossible for certain neighborhoods to succeed with coöperative marketing, whereas neighborhoods that have developed a high degree of sociability are likely to succeed is the opinion of most extension workers.

Dee Crane, Potato Specialist:

"*Positive.*—Willow Island—Pleasants County—By social gatherings they were able to get a group together to grow and market potatoes under difficulties."

T. D. Gray, Extension Landscape Architect:

"*Negative.*—Timber Ridge—Morgan County—The people of this community are divided into local factions resulting in little or no social intercourse, which has hampered any movement to organize them for concerted work."

R. L. Mason, Poultry Specialist:

"*Positive.*—Belleville—Wood County—Improved poultry houses and management due to group gatherings and meetings.

"*Negative.*—Walkersville—Lewis County—Lack of group to get together caused failure of coöperative hatchery and to date coöperative marketing program."

H. W. Prettyman, District Agent:

"*Positive.*—Inwood—Berkeley County—Numerous meetings of fruit-growers at community packing house and the weeks extension school in Horticulture this year have built up the confidence of the farmers to the point where they (1) raised $2000 to cut cedar trees in their own district and $1500 to help clean up adjoining districts; (2) for first time they are pooling the purchase of barrels to the extent of $1800."

May E. Prichard, Home Demonstration Agent:

"*Negative.*—Herndon—Wood County—Lack of coöperation showing finances at a standstill. No coöperative buying and selling. Everyone for himself. Result—young folks practically all gone from community, homes unpainted and poorly kept, farms below average in county.

"*Positive.*—Lee Creek—Wood County—Coöperation showing result in better financial condition. Young folks help run farms. Farmers buy and sell coöperatively. They belong to the Farm Bureau and take part in county Farm Bureau activities. Farm women belong to Woman's Club. Community holds meetings regularly, although land poor as in other community. Both are isolated communities."

Fern Carl, Home Demonstration Agent:

"*Positive.*—The community of Mabie is an excellent example of sociability. I have noticed that it is easier for them to raise money than almost any other community in Braxton County. Recently they decided that the church needed painting. The next week a social was held and the paint is now ready to be put on the church. This sort of thing is easy for these people because of their cheerful and immediate coöperation.

"*Negative.*—The community of Poe Run has no sociability as far as adults are concerned. It has been impossible seemingly to put across any project that has been suggested as being a benefit to the community.

"I have noticed that the Mabie homes are of higher standard than the Poe Run homes. The Mabie Four-H club is a 100% club—Poe Run about 33%. The Mabie community *wants* help—Poe Run doesn't know it needs help."

Betty Eckhardt, State Home Demonstration Agent:

"*Positive.*—Gap Mills—Monroe County—High School is community center—folks come together there for community meetings

at least once each month. There is much visiting. Two churches in community hold joint meetings. Sunday School picnics, etc. Both within one fence. County has best Farm Bureau organization More members of wool pool, do more coöperative buying than rest of county.

"*Negative.*—Wolf Creek—Monroe County—Friction in school and church. Few representative community gatherings. Little Farm Bureau, organization, difficulty in any coöperative marketing or buying."

J. C. Knapp, District Agent:

"*Positive.*—Hillsboro—Pocahontas County—Every family except five has a part in community program. Coöperate when asked. Only five farmers did not pool lambs. Fifty per cent of farmers pooled wool etc. Church and schools of the very best.

"*Negative.*—Wolf Creek, Monroe County—No social life. No coöperation. Conditions very poor, land good. Schools poor. Churches worse."

Gertrude Humphreys, District Home Demonstration Agent:

"*Positive.*—In the Simpson's Creek Community through the farm women's club, and from this group through the community club, the people have developed more community consciousness because of the social meetings of various sorts that they have engaged in. At the present time they are becoming more interested in making money for their church and also for themselves. They are more anxious to buy and sell coöperatively than ever before.

"*Negative.*—Organ Cove—Greenbrier County—Has had no social nor recreational program except through the church. People do not work together and neither are their bank accounts as large as they should be. Land is good and the people are good farmers, but markets are poor, and no coöperative effort has been put forth to make them better."

Pauline Spangler, District Home Demonstration Agent:

"*Positive.*—Pughtown—Hancock County—Have had an active Grange and Community Hall for years and years. Get together on many occasions, most people have comfortable farm houses and fairly good economic situation.

"*Negative.*—Peterstown—Monroe County—Never has been known to have any form of community activity. Joe's boys know his brother's boys so well they are suspicious of anything started by the

others. One or two good farmers, very few well-to-do people. Only time all people get together is for circus. Many people are tenants and day laborers, large families, abject poverty in a community where everyone could live comfortably; due absolutely to lack of sociability."

Chapter XVII

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE BEAUTIFUL IN RURAL LIFE

Frank A. Waugh,
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It is easy to argue that we should consider beauty because it has economic value. Much of what follows herewith is a development of that thesis. Yet if this argument is permitted to stand alone it is partial and absurd. The converse is also true and much more important, though commonly overlooked. This converse principle is that economic values are to be sought precisely because they may purchase beauty.

Thus to the unconsidering mind it might seem a conclusive reason for the beautification of a farm that such improvement would make it sell for more money; but if we contend that more money is desirable only because it will buy some further beauty for our home we are standing on ground both higher and solider.

It is by no means necessary, therefore, to justify beauty by placing a dollar mark in front of it.

Or we may state this reasoning another way. Money buys goods. Beauty is one of the highest human goods. Therefore beauty is equivalent to money.

Still the plea for beauty based on its economic value is (though partial) perfectly logical and sound, as far as it goes. As applied to rural life this argument usually takes the form of showing that attention to beauty, order and cleanliness enhances the value of farm property. To paint the farm buildings, to make a clean front lawn, to plant a snug hedge, to grow a few fine shade trees will raise the price of the whole farm. This means more money, *if one wants to sell:* and if one doesn't sell it means a higher valuation by the assessor and more taxes to pay. Concrete instances of such transla-

tions of beauty into economic values are known in every prosperous community.

What is true in this respect of individual farms is still more conspicuously true of neighborhoods. Any one out to buy a farm would gladly pay fifty per cent more, possibly twice as much, for a home in a good neighborhood as for an equal number of acres in a community obviously down at the heel.

The men who by profession deal with such matters, however, never use the term "beautification" nor any of its cognates. The landscape architects always talk of logical planning, cleanliness and good order. These they believe to be the prime sources of beauty. Logical planning and good order are likewise and obviously essential from the standpoint of utility. Indeed it is a principle all but universally followed by the professional landscape beauty doctors that utility and beauty rest upon the same foundation and that one cannot be realized without the other. If this is true doctrine—if beauty and utility are born to a congenital correlation—then it follows that large and permanent economic values can never be secured in disregard of beauty.

Let us consider the case of the individual farm. Suppose we decide to "beautify" it. We may hide the filthy pig-pen by a hedge of Hydrangea paniculta grandiflora and the tumbledown barns by a group of pine trees and we may cover up the rotting house with Japanese clematis and Dutchman's pipe-vine. But the pig-pen will continue to drain into the well, the barns will continue to disintegrate, while the house and the home life will rot down together. Or suppose that instead of this superficial "beautification" we find a better location for the pig yard and build it on a cement floor, suppose we repair the barns, suppose we paint the house, these practical measures of improvement will yield incomparably greater beauty than all that could ever be done by mere ornamental treatment.

Moreover it is worth a moment's reflection that the prettification of the farmyard by planting a bed of scarlet salvias in the middle of the lawn gives no sane person a fraction of the satisfaction which is given by two or three good elm trees overshadowing and enframing the farmhouse.

Farm planning, or farmstead planning, in the hands of an intel-

ligent landscape architect means first of all the arrangement of the fields, roads and buildings into the most compact and economical scheme possible, in which the utmost farm work can be accomplished with least effort. The planning of ornamental trees and shrubs, the making of lawns and flower beds, while not eschewed, is the last thing to be undertaken.

Once more the case of the single farm is the case of the community. Some of us long-haired, artistic landscape architects like to talk about country planning. But through country planning we do not seek primarily a country beautiful, much as we glory in the beauty of the country. We seek first of all a country better suited to the day's work and the day's living—to the country's economic and social needs. We plan to have farm lands conveniently subdivided and wisely distributed into workable units; to have good school houses at the proper places, set in good clean school grounds, to have churches, stores, garages, creameries and post offices where they ought to be and not somewhere else; to have good roads honestly built according to the requirements of traffic rather than according to the exigencies of politics; we hope to have each farm planned for its greatest efficiency; we hope to have poor lands turned to forests; we hope to have swimming holes for the boys, campgrounds for the girls and a clean look at the hills and the sky for everybody. And when all this is done, though nine-tenths of it points first toward economic or social values, we expect it all to contribute directly to the beauty of the countryside.

The country is everywhere beautiful. If there is any exception to this statement it is hardly great enough to prove the rule. Many parts of the rural landscape are of surpassing beauty. Indeed the beauty of hills, valleys, streams, lakes, woods and farmlands is so great that we might easily maintain that these are the supreme beauties in God's whole output. We who live in the country are daily surrounded by this superlative beauty. It forms the background and the foreground of all we do and think. Sometimes we are conscious of it and deeply glad. Sometimes we are unconscious, dumb and ungrateful. But if we are in any degree better than the cows at pasture this beauty helps us through the daily task and shows in the final balance sheet.

It has been claimed (I don't know how truly) that a cow will give more milk if milked to the pleasant music of a good orchestra. I hope it is so. It would be strange and hopeless if men and women were less responsive than cows to sweet music and bright skies and the soothing shade of trees, to the trickle of running water, the cheerful songs of birds and the smile of hollyhocks by the kitchen window.

Let us also consider briefly the great sanitative power of beauty, and especially the beauty of the native out-of-doors landscape. To make the idea perfectly simple and apprehensible even to members of the legislature we may offer a comparison with the sanitative power of fresh air. The most shameless factory exploiter knows that his operative must have fresh air and lots of it. If they do not get it their energy quickly flags and production drops, even on the shortest shift. Now the mind is more sensitive than the body; and in any labor which involves mental effort, even a little, the mind quickly loses its resiliency unless refreshed by appropriate sanitation. The mind which works fortunately in an atmosphere of beauty and order is thus refreshed; the mind which attempts to work amidst noise, dirt, squalor and billboards on the contrary has an extra load to carry, and must carry it without help of fresh air and sunshine.

There is a law in every civilized state requiring the schoolboard to supply a certain minimum number of cubic feet of fresh air per second to each pupil. It would be just as proper to require them to furnish each pupil with so many miles of fresh landscape every day.

Insofar as any designated group of human beings are succeptible to their influence all forms of beauty have this sanitative value, a value which is directly economic wherever the mind is employed in economic tasks, or social when engaged in social tasks, or personal when the mind operates simply for the benefit of its own owner, as it sometimes has the right to operate. Some personalities are tuned to music and some are set to poetry. Yet it may be doubted whether, humanity generally considered, the greatest regenerative beauty is not that of the open landscape—of fields and forests, the rolling ocean and the kaleidoscopic sky. (Or perhaps this doubt may be doubted

because the doubter is professionally addicted to the landscape and thereby prejudiced!)

One quite rational method of estimating the value of rural or landscape beauty in the lives of men and women is to check the amounts they are willing to pay for it. For example, to rest this inquiry safely on a very broad foundation, there are ten million persons annually visiting the national forests of the United States for purposes of recreation. An essential element of this recreation,—indeed its very essence,—comes from the landscape. Now some rather careful checking has led to the estimate that these visitors spend an average of two days and $25 each on their national forest trips. Disregarding the very substantial economic value of the twenty million days thus appropriated we may fairly say that the $250,000,000 invested by there recreationists represents their minimum estimate of what the beauty of the forests is worth to them.

We need not now assume that in this simple demonstration we have established a factor of universal application, but the principle ought to be placed beyond controversy. To the farmer riding his tractor or the farm wife hanging out her washing the beauty of the purple hills and the red sunset has not perhaps a value of $12.50 per diem—certainly not a collectible economic value. Yet a real value it has—a human value and a market value.

This ought to be perfectly clear when summer boarders from the city come up to the farm and pay $15 a week to sit on a stone wall and look at those same purple hills and throw fits of rapture at those same red sunsets.

The gist of the whole matter lies in the fact that the men and women whose labor upon the farms produces quite enormous economic values are human beings; as such they can not live by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God, and especially by those words of beauty most intelligibly spoken in the primal landscape,—in the beauty of running water, or waving fields of grain, of whispering pine trees and the dramatic march of storm-clouds across the sky. No one would discount the economic value of the bread and meat which keeps these workers alive. Why discredit the economic value of that beauty which keeps their souls alive and makes them something more than cattle and sheep?

Chapter XVIII

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL WELFARE ON ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY AND RURAL PROGRESS

The last four chapters have given some idea of the economic values of health, education, sociability and beauty in rural life. A similar analysis might be made of the economic value of religion or the rural church, though it would be much more difficult to secure tangible evidence of measurable values, however real they may be. This emphasis on the economic values of these phases of rural life does not mean that their values should be measured chiefly in economic terms, but merely that it is legitimate to show that from a strictly economic point of view, considering "economic" as having to do with material wealth, these intangible, social goods contribute directly to the production of wealth.

This leads up to the question as to what extent the development of these non-economic "goods" promote better economic conditions. This question has already been dealt with in other chapters of this report, notably in Chapter V by Dr. H. C. Taylor, and by Dr. Eben Mumford in Chapter IX, but it is specifically answered by the first three articles in this chapter. Dr. Cance holds that economic self-interest is by no means the only incentive to productive activity, but that new wants arise largely from imitation and are increased by means of communication. Thus, inasmuch as in the past they have been largely isolated, rural people have lacked motivation for higher living standards. The desire for higher standards of living will give impetus to greater productive effort. Dr. Vogt indicates the economic value of political stability in establishing

a feeling of security and confidence essential for all economic prosperity, and shows the economic significance of social attitudes, but he concludes that economic influences on social welfare are much more important than the reverse. Dr. Galpin points out that economists very generally recognize the importance of the human element in farm economy and that this is sufficient without necessitating any measure of its relative importance. The important thing which should not be belittled is to raise this human element in farm economy to its highest power.

Recognizing the possible influence of social welfare on economic progress, the question finally arises as to whether the improvement of the social welfare of rural people may advance rural progress independently of the economic factor. Must there be an economic basis for rural progress or is a certain progress possible irrespective of economic conditions? Both of our collaborators hold to the view that no considerable permanent progress can occur in rural life unless there is a real improvement in the economic situation. Obviously a community whose economic status is below the minimum for maintaining certain institutions must better its economic condition before it can enjoy better social institutions. For the community which is sub-marginal in its economic condition, economic improvement is essential to any permanent progress. But is this equally true of communities which are super-marginal economically? Is it not true that in two communities of equal, fairly satisfactory economic status, one may be willing and able to pay and choose good teachers and ministers so that it has first class schools and churches, one may enjoy pleasant sociable gatherings and general good feeling, whereas another of similar economic status may have poor schools and churches, lack social life and be constantly torn by strife? This difference is not due to the presence or lack of economic wealth, but to the lack of certain social attitudes. A com-

munity may be super-marginal economically and sub-marginal socially; in which case more wealth will not change its social values.

This question brings us to the very heart of the problem of this report, but unfortunately there seems to be an entire lack of any accurate scientific data to show the validity of the point of view which we have just indicated. If rural sociology has any contribution to make to rural progress, it should be able to give us some light on this point. Meanwhile the common experience of those who have carefully observed the processes of rural progress will, we believe, confirm the soundness of this point of view. Its further limitations and its relation to the whole problem will be considered in our final conclusion in the following chapter.—D. S.

THE VALUE OF NON-ECONOMIC MOTIVES

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There are several ways of arriving at an answer to the value of non-economic ideals for economic purposes.

There is good reason to believe that wants precede their fulfillment. Production is chiefly for purposes of consumption. Doubtless from the very beginning man labored to supply certain wants, at first of course his most primitive physical needs. If it be true that the demand for things precedes their acquisition, then it is of course true that the enlargement of wants comes before the effort to supply them.

Simple and primitive wants require a small amount of productive energy and are accompanied by a dull imagination. Increasing desires in the life of the individual or the race bring about the necessity for a greater and a more varied production. This in turn brings about the invention of new methods, of new machines, the discovery of new power and the better organization of productive forces. If this be the true order of events, the question at issue resolves itself

into the forces or the motives that initiate the desire for new things.

New wants arise chiefly from the stimulation of the imagination. Without vision the people perish. The enlargement of the mental horizon may proceed from suggestion, imitation, in a large sense from education. Whatever the cause the effect is cumulative. Illustrations of this development of the imagination and the building up of new standards of living into habitual or necessary standards may be found in the life of nearly every schoolboy, probably in the careers of every college boy or girl. The coming to college is the opening of a new world, not only because new desires come from new contacts with different companions, but because new worlds open with mental growth. The imagination is stimulated by exercise. New social habits are soon formed and become fixed. These new habits demand new materials which soon become a part of the college man's essential standards of life. Probably every college man or woman has experienced this development and has seen these new standards grow into habits of life, chiefly for the reason that a college man is alert to new things and because these changes come with amazing rapidity.

Hundreds of thousands of boys from simple, rural homes in America went into the great war with very narrow horizons, very simple wants, and came out of it with horizons so extended that they can now scarcely recognize the narrow life from which they came.

The contacts with the transient visitor who tours the Southern mountains have probably been a greater educator and eradicator of ignorance, superstition and indolence than any other social force or institution among this Southern white population. The poor mountaineers, shut off from their fellows by physical conditions and kept in poverty because of the forbidding nature of the soil and surroundings, have lived for generations a most primitive life without imagination and so without incentive to industry or social improvement. The outside world has come in with the many scattering tourists and wherever the tourist has penetrated new social light and consequently new ideals have come, until now the mountaineers are on a fair way to a standard of living far beyond their previous vision.

A very little careful observation or self-examination is sufficient to convince the unprejudiced that economic self-interest is by no means

the only incentive to productive activity. Indeed, it is evident that this motive is often a minor one. Economics is said to concern itself with man in his efforts to get a living. But what a living! A very large multitude can and do obtain the mere physical necessities with little or no effort. Almost any one in America may trade his self-respect for a sure living for a full span of life. A great number of charitable institutions and soft-hearted individuals stand between the most abject and indigent person and starvation. No one need go hungry or naked who is willing to accept a dole. Many of us work because we are ashamed to beg or afraid to steal.

Wise employers are beginning to realize that wages are not the only incentives to labor. Mere praise or the distinction of standing at the head of a list may serve as a sharper spur than a fatter pay envelope. Loyalty to an employer or devotion to a corporation are powerful productive influences. Certain traditional ideals of conduct in emergencies keep the telegrapher at his key, the telephone girl at her board, the seamen at their posts and nurses and doctors on duty even at the peril of life.

Looking at the matter from another point of view, economists have classified the expenditures of individual incomes into certain convenient groups: First, food; second, clothing; third, rent, fuel and light; fourth, miscellaneous expenditures for economic purposes; and fifth, what may be called non-economic expenditures—education, recreation, religion, benevolence, in general the "higher life". These groups of expenditures are supposed to be classified somewhat in order of desire or necessity, although there may be some question about this. At any rate a certain amount of food, clothing and shelter is essential to life.

The most elastic items, of course, are the fourth and the fifth. These expand greatly, running in all directions as the income increases, but even one, two and three vary chiefly (from small to large incomes) in economic non-essentials, additions made to the satisfaction of simply physical wants by social influences. It is difficult to evaluate standards or civilizations, but there is very general agreement that the measure of man is to be found in his expenditures for the fourth and fifth items, rather than in his expenditures for the first groups.

Many of these expenditures are non-productive. A good many of them are non-economic. Presumbly they all add to the happiness of the individual; at any rate they help to satisfy certain non-material longings which in many people lie dormant. Indirectly, of course, many of these expenditures, like those for education and for rational recreation, are at least indirectly productive or economic, but the great satisfactions of life lie quite without the economic realm. Moreover, these wants are often more intense than any others, just as mental or spiritual suffering is to the sensitive soul more keen than physical pain. The more civilized a people, the more refined the individual, the greater importance he attaches to the satisfaction of wants classified under the "higher life".

There is no question that these wants stimulate more people to work more in order that they may acquire the means to gratify them. More than this, the firm maintenance of these standards by an economic group practically assures their attainment. Not only does the holding of these ideals urge men to labor more strenuously and more abundantly, but they enable them to bargain more successfully.

As a matter of fact men labor and groan to achieve or live up to certain ideals that have laid strong hold of their imaginations. Some of these ideals are closely related to physical self-gratification, some to the primary wants of family. Beyond these and often displacing them the most signficant and compelling motives are social in nature or essentially spiritual and having no direct economic bearing. Religion is a stock example. The spectacle of a whole civilized world closing its mills and laying down its work on Saturday night, a complete cessation from productive employment for 15 per cent of the earning period, is strangely out of place in a world given over to sordid money making. The Sabbath rest is the most spectacular evidence of the religious influence on production, but there is much more. Consider the multitude of church holidays, the almost universal contributions for religious purposes, the tremendous volume of property set aside for holy uses, the industries built up directly to minister to religious needs, the great volume of industry fostered or suppressed by the church.

Many religious ideals are directly or indirectly economic in their implications. Mostly they encourage or require peace, temperance,

industry, thrift, physical and mental fitness in their devotees, but the motive force is religious rather than economic in its concept and nature. On the other hand, war and strife are generally uneconomic at least in their physical aspects. Nevertheless, warlike motives have dominated the activities of individuals and social groups throughout the ages.

The application of all this to rural people is apparent. Rural folk are comparatively isolated. On the whole they have fewer human contacts than urbanites. Distance and lack of easy means of communication have hindered frequent movement. The nature of their occupation has tended to limit the area of communication, to favor stability and to confine the attention to routine. Success has depended more on hard physical toil than on mental quickness. Physical fatigue has often dulled the imagination. On the whole, rural people are not socially minded. Each has depended on himself and economic self-interest has been his rule of conduct.

The way out is through education in the largest sense. More contacts with men and ideas. More emphasis on beauty, on art, on recreation, on literature, on social enterprises, on community pride, on the value of travel, on comforts and luxuries of life will lift men out of the rut of routine drudgery, give a new zest to life and a more wholesome impetus to productive effort.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-ECONOMIC "GOODS" PROMOTE BETTER ECONOMIC CONDITIONS?

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There is no way of measuring accurately the extent to which economic conditions are influenced by the development of non-economic "goods". It is possible only to present evidence that there is such an influence and to illustrate some of the ways in which the influence operates.

The preceding section of this report has to do primarily with personal characteristics of the individual. Health, education, sociability,

appreciation of the beautiful and the religious impulses are all personal. It is expected in the present section to discuss those intangible aspects of human life that find their expression in the social mind and in the forms of human association. The field for consideration includes all those elements usually found in social psychology, such as public opinion, custom, convention, tradition and the like; political organization; the mental content phases of education; religious and ethical organization and belief; and the forms of social and economic groupings other than political. It will be impossible to illustrate more than a small portion of these within the space available.

One of the most marked fields for illustration of the influence of non-economic "goods" upon economic welfare is to be found in the political realm. Sound political organization promotes at least four qualities in the citizenship of a nation that are essential to any real economic progress. These are the feelings of security, stability, confidence and hope. So long as there is uncertainty as to the protection of property and rights of the individual by the State, funds will not be invested in enterprises requiring large resources or that are to be of long duration. A nation will be reduced to a type of economic activity requiring a minimum of risk of loss of property or investment. It is manifest that, without a sense of security and stability in political institutions and without confidence, little hope of reward for economic activity can be expected and economic welfare will lag.

As a matter of fact, this has been the case in actual experience. The delayed development of such countries as Mexico and Central and South American Republics can be in a large part attributed to the political instability of those countries. When they have had confidence in their governments, industry has thriven; when confidence has been lost, economic stagnation has developed. In the United States, confidence in government has been largely responsible for the aggressiveness of the American people in going forward with the development of the resources of the country. On the other hand, lack of confidence in safety and security has delayed progress among negroes in many communities. Instances have been known of the colored population of rural communities leaving in large numbers

when some member of the race has been killed and his property exploited. Little incentive to property accumulation has been given when ownership of land has been forbidden and warning has been given to dispose of what has already been purchased.

When economic organization has been unfavorable to some great group of the population, that group has manifested a high degree of carelessness with reference to economic welfare. Slavery, as an economic institution, has represented a higher type of development than the policy of ruthless killing of all captives, customary among some primitive historical groups. But slavery, as industrial organization has advanced, has proven less economic than free labor and has given way to that type of organization which has given the largest stimulus to personal initiative and self-interest. Communism, as a form of economic organization, has thus far failed, except in very small groups, because it does not fix responsibility for self-preservation and personal progress, and because it fails to stimulate those personal economic impulses that private ownership of property affects so powerfully.

Volumes have been written upon the enormous economic waste resulting from certain phases of present industrial organization. Rural populations are affected by this condition as well as those living in urban communities. Excessive duplication of competitive retail business; limitation of output by business operators in order to secure a maximum of profit for limited groups; excessive cutting down of the daily stint of work to be done by members of labor organizations, particularly in the building trades; wasteful speculation stimulation by the high pressure methods of salesmanship; and many other weaknesses in present industrial organization may be mentioned. It is apparent that self-interest, so valuable when properly controlled, becomes a destructive force when allowed to run wild. Individual progress and social welfare are not in harmony in many phases of modern industry and thus non-economc elements of business organization are directly delaying advance in general material welfare.

In rural communities the attitude of mind resulting from the system of tenancy prevailing in many parts of the country is vitally affecting economic progress. It is recognized that tenancy and

transiency go together. The result is that coöperative activities are delayed. Community organization of agriculture, which depends upon long time plans made by permanent residents, is impossible. Soil is being mined; buildings are running down or decent dwellings for those living on the land are not being erected. The type of population that demands decent living conditions is not being attracted to the farm. Economic progress is directly delayed by the tenant system.

Beliefs, religious and otherwise, may or may not stimulate economic progress. Too much dependence on the vagaries of nature as the expression of the will of God may reduce a nation to absolute poverty. Long cherished superstitious beliefs in the efficacy of the moon, the danger of starting work on certain days, the necessity of following given agricultural practices because through long use they have become sacred, antagonism to book learning, all may delay economic progress. On the other hand a gospel of work, thrift, frugality, honesty, square dealing, coöperation and mutual aid will undoubtedly make possible the best economic progress of which any given section may be capable.

The development of a desire for the finer things of life, such as music, art, recreation, travel, also may or may not stimulate progress. It has been characteristic of American life that wealth accumulation generally has taken precedence of practically every other consideration. The large red barn of the German settlers in the Ohio Valley, contrasted with the log cabin in which he kept his family, is typical of the general tendency. In recent years, however, with the coming of the automobile and the larger influence of urban standards of living in rural life, there has come a tendency to sacrifice capital accumulated and needed in upkeep and improvement of plant for the immediate enjoyment of the new desires. In this way there is an apparent slowing up in the movement toward home ownership in the country and a smaller amount of money spent for building improvement in order that the automobile may be kept up and that the children may have some of the advantages of education and social life their parents never enjoyed.

The economic influences on social welfare seem to be much more important than the reverse. In American life, with few exceptions,

when economic resources have made it possible, rural folk have provided themselves with what urban people have come to look upon as necessities. The desire for better things has been in the country for some time. They have been educated beyond their means. When population shift brings about better coördination between rural and urban life on the economic side, we shall not see such marked differences in standards of living as now exist. Non-economic goods, particularly in the realm of political and industrial coördinations are important. In other respects, the development of economic welfare will doubtless make possible the realization of better and wider development of goods in the non-economic realm.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN FARM ECONOMY

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A careful reading of the leading texts on Agricultural Economics and Farm Management (e.g. those of Boss, Carver, Nourse, Taylor, Warren) will disclose that the man-factor or human element in agricultural production is as important as land on the one hand and capital on the other. These writers have no hesitancy at all in scoring the efficiency of the human element in production by use of a score-card couched in the following terms: "virtue", "morality", "higher education", "progressive attitude of mind", "intellectual power", "spiritual quality", "health", "muscular strength", "skill", "work-habit", "good judgment", "knowledge", "self-control", "concentration", "coöperativeness", "faithfulness", "honesty", "courage", "patience", "community interest".

This list gleaned from the books of farm economists is sufficient to show how fundamentally concerned the farm economist is with the human factor in farm economy as appearing in farm labor problems and farm management problems, as well as in the economic problems of distribution.

The extent to which the economic level of agriculture is high in a family, in a community, in a state or in the nation, as a result of the presence in the farm population of any one singly or any num-

ber of these qualities in combination has never, to my knowledge, been convincingly determined; and I do take into account a few survey statistics by Warren and others on the "education" factor. If there were any question at all in the minds of economists about the causative character of these human traits and characteristics, whether of body, mind, or spirit, in their relation to the economics of farming, we might deem it worth while to attempt to measure the effects; but, for our purpose in this discussion, the concession of economists is sufficient.

The important matter, it seems to me, is for economists and sociologists to determine in some degree and, if possible, come to some agreement upon the ways and means of raising the human element in farm economy to its highest power, in families, in communities, in state and nation. This is not, however, my problem in this brief paper; but, seeing that I have brought the issue, I may be allowed to say that it is up to the sociologists to assist in raising the human factor, if possible, and so help in promoting the economics of agriculture; and, on the other hand, it is certainly illogical in the economists to minimize any sound efforts being used to raise the level of the human element in farm economy.

TO WHAT EXTENT MAY CONDITIONS AND FORCES WHICH PROMOTE THE NON-ECONOMIC SOCIAL WELFARE OF RURAL PEOPLE ADVANCE RURAL PROGRESS INDEPENDENTLY OF THE ECONOMIC FACTOR?

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Two possible approaches were suggested by the committee in assigning this topic. One was to contrast the culture of communities of similar economic status, the one with, the other without general education, vital religion, music, community life and other desirable social assets, in order to answer the question whether an economic minimum is essential for education, religion and sociability or only for their institutions.

The second approach was to answer the question whether if the

farmer secured a better income it would be possible for him to purchase the "good" called religion.

To the author it seems that neither of these approaches would give an authoritative answer to the question propounded for this paper. The first approach would yield an interesting case study, assuming that the community without such a common thing as "general education" could be found. But it might turn out that factors other than the economic accounted for all the differences. The two communities might be of different races with different ideas as to what constituted social goods.

They might be in different states with markedly divergent laws as to such thing as education or sobriety. The factor of leadership might be of great importance in explaining the differences. It would not be safe to assume that the "progressive" community was so independently of the economic factor.

The second approach demands a definition of religion but, as in the case of the term "progress" in the title, neither instructions nor definitions as to its meaning were received.

The question propounded is one upon which few or no data have been assembled. It is axiomatic that certain social goods, as say religion, can be procured with the presence of only that minimum of economic life necessary for food and shelter. Witness the peace of mind of the converted lepers in the leper colonies of the Moravian church in Jerusalem and British Guiana. Doubtless, too, these people "advance" in their "spiritual life" independently of any economic factor. From that hero of ancient drama, Job, down to modern time there are many instances in which individuals and communities have advanced in their possession of an immaterial good even though their economic status has grown infinitely worse. But no science has devised a measurement that will record the extent of this advance and particularly of its extent independently of the economic factor.

Furthermore, the average rural community is not afflicted with leprosy or persecution. In the average community also only a few would differentiate between the essence of a social good and the institutional expression of that good.

This is important because, at least so far as whole communities

are concerned, the author knows no better way, poor as it is, to measure intangible factors than by evaluating the institutional fruit of these factors and by measuring the support that these institutional expressions of immaterial goods receive, "By their fruits ye shall know them".

This discussion will be confined, therefore, to recording a few experiments that have been made by the author or under his direction under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, in seeking to determine whether any relationship existed between economic well-being and the support of social institutions or the presence of what are generally considered socially desirable improvements.

First then, in regard to the church. Does the amount of money given by the average number of a rural church fluctuate according to farm income and land values?

In order to answer this question a representative sample of 96 counties was taken and a correlation was worked out, first between the average annual income of each farm and the average annual contribution of each member to the country churches. The resulting coefficient was + .62. A similar correlation using the more stable factor of land values instead of farm income yielded an even higher coefficient of + .74. As a further test the average annual contribution of each member in the churches of agricultural villages was correlated with land values with a resulting coefficient of + .51.[1]

It would appear that there is a very definite relationship between the economic status of the farmer and the support accorded the rural church.

In the study of American Agricultural Villages just completed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research an effort was made to measure more precisely the effect of wealth. To this end an index was worked out based on tangible property lying within the incorporated limits of the village. A measure of the value of this tangible property was obtained from the local assessment figures, corrected for true value on the basis of opinions obtained from the local banker, a real estate agent and the assessor himself. The

[1] For a full discussion of the technique employed, names of counties used and complete results, see Fry, Diagnosing the Rural Church, pp. 50 to 82.

total estimated true value was then divided by the number of households in the village and the result was called the household wealth index. The experiment was confined to 60 Middle Western villages.[2]

This index was correlated with the percentage of males 21 years of age and over enrolled in church. The resulting coefficient was plus .49. Apparently the proportion of adult males in church membership has a tendency to vary with wealth. There was no tendency for wealth and church attendance to be associated nor did wealth affect total church budgets. The average contribution of each member to the benevolent work of his church did tend to vary with wealth, as is evidenced by a correlation of plus .33, when related to the household index.

The highly standardized program of the public school, closely supervised as it is by the state, probably explains why the grade and high school expenses per household showed only a minor fluctuation (4 per cent) as between the poorer and richer villages. There was a marked variation, however, in the per pupil teaching cost and this correlated with the household wealth index gave a coefficient of plus .36.

It is interesting that a positive coefficient of plus .44 was obtained when the per capita contribution for benevolences in village churches was correlated with the salary per pupil paid to village grade school teachers. Generosity to the wider work of the church seems to be associated with a willingness to appreciate the value of well-paid teachers.

The poorer village is less likely to have a library or public health nurse than a richer one. Of the villages with average household wealth indices of less than $4,000, one half had libraries. Of those with indices of $5,000 or over, five-sixths possessed a library. There were libraries in two-thirds of the group between $4,000 and $5,000. For the public health nurse the figures were two-sevenths for the poor group, one-third for the medium and one-half for the rich.

If leisure in old age and absence of child labor are socially de-

[2] See Chapter 10, American Agricultural Villages, for a full discussion of the method employed in arriving at this wealth index, its limitations and the results obtained by using it.

sirable it would appear that the achievement of these ends depends somewhat upon the economic situation of the community. A comparison of the census figures [3] for gainful employment by age and sex groups shows that a larger proportion of persons 45 years of age and over are gainfully employed in the poorer villages than in the rich ones. This fact accounts for a high negative correlation, —.53, between the household wealth index and the percentage of gainfully employed men 45 years of age and over. Similarly in the South, where the village household wealth index was uniformly lower than among the Middle Western villages six times as many males 10 to 15 years of age were gainfully employed as in any other region. Even eliminating the negroes the figure was twice as high as in any other region.

These data do not answer the question to what extent rural social progress is independent of the economic factor. They do indicate that there is a close degree of dependency. It is entirely possible for a community in a burst of enthusiasm to erect a church or high school building or secure a library when their economic situation seemed to have foredoomed such an effort to failure. People will sacrifice much for some institution they desire. But such communities could not obtain a church, high school and library all at the same time. They must choose. Too many religious and social leaders have come to grief because they have failed to take the economic factor into account. Some communities, for instance, under the spell of campaigns have bonded themselves for high schools costing far beyond their resources. As a result, all other social progress is handicapped for a period of years. Progress cannot go very far without encountering the economic factor. There is a limit to what the rural community can afford. One of the important studies for the future is to discover how to determine this limit and then to find out how rural communities may organize their resources in order to obtain a maximum amount of social good.

[3] Made available to the Institute of Social and Religious Research for 177 villages in connection with its study of American Agricultural Villages through the coöperation of Dr. C. J. Galpin of the Department of Agriculture and Director Stewart of the Census Bureau. See the Institute's publications "A Census Analysis of American Villages" and "American Villagers."

RURAL PROGRESS AS RELATED TO RURAL SOCIAL FORCES

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If it were possible to eliminate from the rural situation the economic aspects of agriculture and so withdraw the influence of profits, money, and wealth upon rural progress, how far would it prove true in America that the humanistic and idealistic forces of rural society are responsible for rural civilization? This is our question to answer.

Let us begin by breaking the question into several questions. Is there anything spiritual about the occupation of farming,—about its brute contact with spacious, active, nature—which pushes toward progress, whether there are money profits or not? Is family life in the country, apart from the profits, a deep satisfaction which is to the advantage of rural society?

Is there an advantage in the comparative isolation of country life, which tends to promote the progress of the rural race? Are the humanistic institutions of a well-developed rural community more directly influential in raising the community to a high pitch of civilization than the bare presence of economic wealth?

Let us look into American history a little for our answer. New England rural life from 1640 to 1840 was characterized by a difficult agriculture and a high type of rural humanism. As soon as better lands opened to the westward, New England sent her youth and her mobile adult farmers to the better soils of the West. The better and cheaper farming lands, with their lure of a more easily won livelihood, rapidly withdrew from New England its farming virility. These westward migrant people took their habits of mind, their humanistic traditions and reared in Western states on a frontier basis their New England institutions. The New England farmer, under an adverse economic régime, lost his outstanding humanistic

[1] The two articles by Dr. Galpin in this chapter are due to the fact that as the report was originally planned they would have come in separate chapters. —Editor.

characteristics. The combination of economic advantage and humanism in the Central West from 1840 to 1880 gave a very satisfactory result to the farm community. When, however, the economic advantage became excellent, then began the retiring movement of the most prosperous farmers to cities, instead of a continuing of building up the humanistic institutions of the land. Farm tenancy was the answer to economic prosperity, and a cessation of institutional development was the result. It appeared easier with money to buy humanistic privilege in towns and cities than to build the institutions of humanism on the land.

An interpretation of our own farming history will show, I think, that the human being on farms, like all human beings, is profoundly moved during the period of muscular young manhood and womanhood toward economic advantages and privilege. This movement continued tends to reduce the original community or region to an inferior make-up in age and other characteristics.

With the presence of economic surplus, the human being on farms tends to withdraw with his surplus to areas where he can buy without effort the consumption goods of the highest sorts.

No formula on the relative value and influence of the economic factor as set over against the humanistic factor is worth much that does not take into account the constant mobility, flux, and interchange of human elements in the farming community class or region.

There is undoubted advantage to rural society and to society in general in the bare occupation of farming, in its comparative isolation, and its wonderful habitat for the growth of child life. But over against this fact is the ingrained fact that rational choice of the goods of life, as these goods affect man and society, is rare among mobile American youth. In an era of a money régime, money seems to youth to have many choices in its exchange nature,—a characteristic which outweighs the possession of a few great advantages.

No studies within my knowledge have been made of the power of rural humanistic rational ideals in any struggle with the lure of economic wealth. I would be inclined to maintain the thesis that, taking several generations into account, rural humanisms to be continuous and availing would of necessity have to be united with

superior economic advantages. It is true that mature people, in the community saddle, can struggle long and with some success against the fashion of an economic lure,—but time will eventually serve youth.

Chapter XIX

CONCLUSION

To make any adequate summary of the points of view advanced in the articles assembled in this report is exceedingly difficult owing to the many subjects which have been considered. However, the material presented may be summarized in the statement that the final measure of rural progress is found in the better standard of life, both material and spiritual, of the mass of farm people, but that if this is to be permanent it must be based on greater economic efficiency.

Our major problem, the relation of the economic and social factors in rural progress, seems to arise from a dualism in our consideration of what we commonly term the economic and social sides of life. The answer to our problem lies in resolving this dualism.

Man's satisfactions consist in his physical well-being, including its enlargement through material things, and in his social relationships. In part these material things which conduce to man's physical well-being are enjoyed for their own sake, as, for example, food, warm clothing, etc., but to an increasingly great extent they are also valued in terms of social approval. This is the economic aspect of life. On the other hand man's social relationships, the social aspect, are in part of an intangible nature, as the love of mother and child or the enjoyment of recreation, but to a considerable extent they involve the use of material things or employed services, of what we commonly call wealth. There are few satisfactions which do not involve both factors, the economic and the social. This seeming dualism of the economic and the social arises,

therefore, from our thinking of them as two separate divisions or distinct parts of life, whereas they are really mere phases of one complex phenomenon which we abstract for purposes of analysis owing to our inability to comprehend at one moment the manifold nature of the whole.

Our consciousness of this problem is doubtless increased by the fact that the rapid development of our material culture has resulted in greatly stimulating our desires for the material goods of life, both through imitation and advertising. As a result the desire for new material goods seems to form an increasingly large part of the total values of life, and the enjoyment of these material goods is dependent upon economic improvement. Thus with the attention fixed upon and our efforts devoted to increasing our economic income, we tend to fall into the subtle fallacy that a better income which will permit the purchase of more material goods will also be used for the purchase of non-material goods, such as better schools and churches, and will in some unknown way automatically make possible better social relationships. But with an increasing enjoyment of material goods we often become aware that they have not brought about the better human relationships to which we aspire, and from which we gain our most lasting satisfactions.

Previous chapters (VII to XIII) in this report have shown the effect of various economic conditions and tendencies on social welfare, and others (Chapters V, VI, XIV-XVIII) indicate the effect of social welfare on economic efficiency. There is no meaning or value to greater economic efficiency if it is not transformed into the higher satisfactions of farm people, but these higher satisfactions are not to be permanently realized without greater economic efficiency. It may be true that, as indicated at the beginning of the last chapter (pg. 296), the progress of some families or communities which are of median or better economic status may depend wholly upon the improvement of the social factor, whereas the progress of other

families or communities whose social conditions are above par will be chiefly conditioned by their economic advancement, but in no case can improvement of one factor go on indefinitely without the other. Only when one of these factors is a "limiting factor" can a certain amount of improvement occur without the other. On the other hand, each of these factors is a stimulus for and a condition of the development of the other. In particular cases and at a certain moment, the one may be more essential than the other and may have a causal relation to it, but in the long run the two factors, the economic and the social, are interacting functions of rural society and only through their best reciprocal adjustment is the most satisfactory rural progress possible.

This means that the family, community or country, which devotes itself solely or chiefly to the gaining of wealth with a relative neglect of the social values of life, will to that extent deprive itself of the highest satisfactions of life and in the long run will be unable to compete with those which have improved their opportunity to acquire more of life's social values. On the other hand, it means that no social group can attain a higher culture without increasing its economic efficiency and providing for the distribution of its increased income so that it will produce the largest social welfare. For a higher culture, a better standard of life, involves a division of labor and the support of persons and institutions devoted to the care of the sick, to recreation, to education, to literature, to art, to music, and to religion, whose material needs must be supplied by the rest of society.

It is essential, therefore, that all those who are seeking to promote rural progress should have a vivid appreciation of the fact that economic and social improvement must be satisfactorily synchronized; that the schoolman, the clergyman and the welfare worker should understand that satisfactory social institutions cannot be created or maintained with inadequate economic support; but also that agricultural leaders should

appreciate that a better farm income will not of itself create higher social values and that these are essential to economic advancement. Rural progress must, therefore, be achieved through a well-rounded program which gives adequate attention to all the more important interests both social and economic, and by an intelligent coöperation of persons and organizations in which each attacks a special task but supports the others in working toward a common end.—D. S.

APPENDIX

Outline for a Coöperative Study of

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN RURAL PROGRESS

Under the auspices of a Joint Committee of the American Country Life Association and the American Farm Economics Association

Note:—The comments in parentheses () after each topic are merely suggestive of what is involved in the topic, but the comments are not intended to be exhaustive or exclusive. Collaborators should discuss the topics from whatever point of view seems to them most significant.

I. *The Economic Aspect.*

A. To what extent is economic efficiency essential for satisfactory rural life?

1. What is the standard or goal of economic efficiency in agriculture?
   (A new statement of the meaning of economic efficiency in agriculture is necessary. Usually this question is considered solely from the standpoint of national economic welfare, in terms of the maximum production of food at lowest cost. Does it not also involve the ability to secure social goods by the individual farm family, and the adjustment of the relation of the agricultural class to other classes so that farmers may have social goods and opportunities equal to those of other classes?)
2. What is a satisfactory standard of living for the farmer; i.e. what is the norm? To what extent economic or social? (Should we recognize a definite limitation of the standard of living of the farmer, inherent in agriculture as an occupation, or should there be an equal opportunity for the standard of living of better farmers to advance as high as among

the more favored classes, such as manufacturers, bankers, etc? Can the norm of the standard of living be static, or must it be relative? Are there certain features of the farmer's standard of living which produce values peculiar to the farm, which cannot be enjoyed elsewhere, and which may compensate to a degree for the lack of certain material goods?)

3. How does the economic status of agriculture or the economic relation of agriculture to other industries and commerce affect possible standards of living of farmers?
4. Social losses or gains (or lower and higher standards of living) due to neglect or improvement of economic efficiency in agriculture, or due to economic resources and the efficiency of their use in agriculture.
   a. What is the social significance of the coöperative movement? (What are the social by-products of the coöperative movement? Is conviction of the ethical justice of coöperation essential for its permanent success, or may it succeed solely on an economic basis?)
   b. What is the effect of minimum and maximum economic status in agriculture on the standard of life, as compared with median economic status?
   (Is there a tendency for farmers below a certain minimum or above a certain maximum of economic status to have less interest in social welfare, or is social welfare promoted by those in medium circumstances who are striving for improvement? For instance, the latter class support the church and education more than either the lowest or highest economic classes. Consider the effect of prosperity on religion.)
   c. What is the social effect of large estates?
   (Granting the economic efficiency of large estates or chains of farms under a single management, does such a system promote a desirable social situation or the highest rural welfare?)
   d. What is the social effect of tenancy?
   (Granting the economic efficiency of tenancy under a sound leasing system, are there social losses from tenancy which make it desirable to limit its growth for non-economic reasons?)
   e. How do the economic limitations of poorer agricultural sections affect social conditions? How far shall State assistance to rural communities go?
   (Should the State attempt to furnish equal opportunities

for education, health, communication, etc., to people in poorer agricultural districts, and if so should it not limit the occupation of lands which are far below the margin of profitable production?)

f. How do types of agricultural production and income affect the form of expenditure and culture? (Do dairying, truck growing, tobacco raising, etc., definitely limit the type of culture of their people; and do fruit growing, grain farming, etc., give opportunity for higher culture through more leisure, chance for travel, etc?)

g. To what extent will better economic conditions of farmers make possible a wider diffusion and higher development of human welfare on the farm?

1. To what degree is better economic status necessary for creation and maintenance of satisfactory rural institutions and standards of living?

2. a. Under what conditions does greater economic efficiency result in higher culture or standard of life?

b. What prevents increased economic efficiency from producing better culture or standard of life? (Does greater economic efficiency uniformly produce a better life? If not, why not? What conditions are essential for economic progress to result in a higher culture? Are these purely economic, or purely spiritual conditions, or a proper relation of the two sets of factors?)

B. To what extent is human welfare essential to economic efficiency in agriculture?

1. Economic losses or gains in agriculture through neglect or improvement of human efficiency.

(Under this heading it is aimed to secure concise statements of existing data concerning the economic value of conditions of human welfare, and how economic progress is limited by them.)

a. Economic aspect of health. (Summarize the economic losses and limitations due to hookworm, malaria, lack of obstetrical care, etc., in country.)

b. Economic aspect of education. (Show the superior economic ability resulting from education. Farm management surveys have accumulated a considerable body of statistics on this.)

c. Economic aspect of *sociability*. (Show the relation of social isolation on farms to holding desirable farm labor. Show lack of social life as a factor in determining in-

dividualistic attitudes which make coöperation in marketing more difficult. Consider other phases of the economic value of sociability.)

d. Economic value of the *beautiful* or *esthetic.* (Show the economic value of beautification of the farmstead, of music—as in the work songs of negroes, of village band concerts for drawing trade, etc.)

e. Economic influence of *religion* and the *church.* (Show the relation of religious conviction regarding farm life as a dynamic in economic efficiency, as among the Mormons, Dunkards, etc. The effect of appreciation of higher goods upon thrift, etc.)

2. To what extent does the development of non-economic "goods" promote better economic conditions?

(Show how education, religion, art, etc., enlarge the world of the individual and community and create new wants, which act as a dynamic toward economic production. One the chief difficulties in securing the progress of backward people is to break down their complacency and to arouse new desires, which frequently are non-economic in their objective. The recent cultural advancement of Denmark seems to illustrate this.

Likewise experience has shown that sound ethics usually proves to be sound economics, as in the cases of slavery, shorter work day, prohibition, etc., although only in the later stages of these movements is the economic validity recognized.)

II. *The Social (Non-Economic) Aspect.*

A. What are the fundamental satisfactions or values of farm life?

(Historically agriculture was developed as a means of human sustenance superior to hunting and gathering. It is now more largely a means of making a cash income. Does the production of food for sale serve as an end in itself, as did the original object of farming for family sustenance, or is commercial production largely a means to an end? If commercial farming is a "means" then what are the distinctive "ends" or "objectives" of farm life? Are there values in commercial agriculture which can make it as satisfying as other occupations? Are there social values in farm life not found in town or city occupations? If so, what are they? To what extent are the fundamental satisfactions in rural

life secured through health, education, sociability and play, esthetic appreciation, religion, home and community life, and similar social values? May these social values be realized in farm life in a way which give satisfactions peculiar to it and differing from the social values attainable in urban life? If so, what weight should they be given in determining public policy for rural progress?)

B. What is the measure of rural progress?
(May it be measured by the degree to which social values and standards—as outlined above—are advancing, and if so what is the relation of the better development of economic resources and the efficiency of the agricultural business?)

C. To what extent may conditions and forces which promote the non-economic social welfare of rural people, advance rural progress independently of the economic factor?
(Contrast the culture of communities of similar economic status with and without general education, vital religion, music sociability, community life, etc.
Is an economic minimum essential for education, religion, sociability, etc., or only for their institutions? Are not these goods chiefly dependent upon the attitudes and ideals of rural groups, and to what extent are they obtainable independently of economic prosperity?
Another approach to this topic is given in the query raised by Dr. C. J. Galpin, to wit, whether if the farmer secured a better income, would it be possible for him to purchase the "good" we call religion. Would he be able to buy the immaterial "goods" he desires even if he had the money?)

III. *The General Welfare of the Agricultural Class* as affected by the above considerations.

A. Is the greatest economic efficiency in agriculture compatible with social welfare? of the individual? of society?
(It has been stated that the farmer who devotes a considerable amount of time to community welfare cannot compete with the farmer who devotes his entire energy to his farming, provided they are of equal ability; and that in the long run the farmer who minds his own business will possess the land. To what extent is this tendency true and how does it affect the individual and how does it affect society?)

B. Will a low standard of living result in more production and force out those with higher standards of life?
(It is often held that foreign immigrants and those who be-

cause of relative poverty are willing to accept a lower standard of living, or who have larger families and use as much family labor as possible—neglecting their education, etc.—are willing to pay more for land and can make a living on poorer land than those with a higher standard of living who are not satisfied with the living the farm affords them, and that the former will drive out the latter much as cheap money drives out good money.)

C. Under the present economic system will agriculture attract those with higher living ideals if maximum production is the aim?

Are maximum production, maximum division of labor, etc., compatible with a democratic agriculture?

(If the most efficient production and distribution of material goods, so as to secure the greatest economic return, is the aim of agriculture, will farming be a satisfying mode of life to those with higher ideals of living? Does not the capitalist system tend to emphasize investment in plant (productive goods) with men incidental, to encourage the largest practicable division of labor, efficient technicians and cheap labor? Is this compatible with the idea of human welfare of the family and of the community as the chief end of effort, and with farming as a satisfying mode of life? Must farming adopt the essential economics of the factory system and make returns on capital the primary aim, or can farming recognize human values as equally important?

IV. *Conclusion.* To be prepared by the editors as a summary, integration and interpretation of the above.

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